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**Comparing Area Based and Thematic Social Inclusion
Partnerships: a focus on young people**

by

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at the Department of Urban Studies, Faculty of Social Science,
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Abstract

The introduction of the Social Inclusion Partnership (SIP) programme in Scotland in 1999 emerged as part of policy commitment to achieving social inclusion. The significance of this policy context to the SIP programme came through the move within urban policy programmes from focusing solely on tackling urban deprivation to also target resources towards rural and coalfield areas and socially excluded groups. With this change in approach came an explicit commitment to tackling the social exclusion experienced by young people at both the neighbourhood and local authority levels. Within this policy context, this study set out to compare the approach adopted by one thematic SIP (the Big Step) and one area-based SIP (Drumchapel SIP) to promoting social inclusion for young people. Using a case study methodology, data was collected using a combination of interviews with SIP stakeholders, young people and a range of external 'experts', supported by analysis of SIP documents and observation of SIP meetings and other formal events.

Three key themes frame the focus of this study. First, an investigation of the theoretical and policy influences steering the approach taken within the case study SIPs to achieve social inclusion for young people illustrates a clear theoretical and policy framework driving the work of the SIPs influenced by concerns to achieve social inclusion by promoting a mixture of rights and responsibilities for excluded groups. The result is an explicit programme of work to promote social integration through active participation in society and the economy. Alongside this, however, emerges an implicit concern with managing the individual and social costs of young people's exclusion from labour market and other socially acceptable activities in order to reduce the problems associated with young people. Second, the practice of the case study SIPs was compared across three key areas: the working practices of the SIPs in responding to the agenda on 'strategic working'; the views of respondents on the relative value of working in partnership; and the involvement of young people within the decision-making structures of the SIPs. Clear distinctions in the practices of the case study SIPs were identified. This provided an opportunity to reflect on the relative contribution made by area-based and thematic SIPs to the promotion of social inclusion for young people, and from this to review the wider applicability of the findings from the case study SIPs as the third theme of the study. Extrapolating trends emerging from the case study SIPs, the study concludes that both types of SIP contribute towards promoting the social inclusion of young people, with area-based SIPs addressing the social exclusion of young people within the wider community context and thematic SIPs foregrounding the interests of young people.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In Scotland in the late 1990s, for the first time in thirty years of Scottish Office funding being available to support specialist urban policy programmes, a significant change occurred with the introduction of Social Inclusion Partnerships (SIPs). The invitation in 1998 for new partnerships to apply for SIP funding was significant in that it was available not only to partnerships concerned with urban deprivation, but also to partnerships based in rural and coalfield communities and those concerned with excluded groups within and beyond the most deprived neighbourhoods in Scotland. This development related to the introduction by the Labour Government of a policy concern with tackling 'social exclusion' since coming to power in 1997 (Fairclough 2000). The Ministerial announcement of the introduction of the SIP programme illustrates the centrality of the social exclusion policy context to the development of the SIP programme:

When we announced our intention to designate new Social Inclusion Partnerships, we recognised that social exclusion blights the lives of many people across Scotland – from multiply deprived urban areas to fragile rural communities, former coal-mining areas and specific excluded groups. We are therefore determined that these new partnerships should tackle social exclusion wherever and in whatever form it exists. (Scottish Office 1998c)

The SIP programme replaced a relatively new policy programme introduced by the Conservative Government in 1996. Programme for Partnership (PfP) had been introduced to roll out a partnership based approach to urban policy programmes in Scotland in the wake of the perceived successes of the 4 pilot New Life Partnerships that had received a ten year funding allocation from 1989 (Scottish Office 1993). However, only two years after PfP was introduced, and one year after the Labour Government had been elected, the Scottish Office invited the partnerships gaining funding under PfP to convert to SIP status while also providing an additional funding allocation to allow new partnerships to apply for SIP funding. The suggestion from this move was that Government wished to see centrally funded urban policy initiatives responding to this new policy commitment to tackling social exclusion.

This concern to address the problems associated with social exclusion has become central to both policy and theoretical debate in recent years. It is a concept that has taken on a resonance within mainstream social policy (see Levitas 1998; Lister 2000) as well within specialist urban policy programmes that focus on localised/neighbourhood level problems (see Parkinson 1998; Geddes 1997). Within theoretical debates, the term has gained popularity within Europe, and more recently in the UK, as a way of highlighting concerns about the multidimensional nature of deprivation (Room 1995; Madanipour 1998), while also acknowledging that this is an

active process involving excluders as well as those who are excluded (Kleinman 1998). It is a term that is said to allow recognition of the potentially dynamic nature of exclusion as a process that is transferable amongst social groups and within families (Atkinson 1998).

In policy and academic terms then, the concern with tackling social exclusion and promoting an inclusive society has become a central point of debate allowing policy-makers to frame social and urban policy programmes within this apparently 'new' political ethos, while at the same time allowing academics to revisit debates on social problems with a new impetus. Within this context, academics have questioned the rhetoric of the policy framework that has emerged in this area, with some challenging the lack of policy acknowledgement of structural inequalities relating to class (Byrne 1999) and poverty (Spicker 2002). Further, there are those concerned that the language of social exclusion may suggest and reinforce perceptions of the excluded as a separate social group who form a discrete 'underclass' (McDonald 1997); an approach that implies an individualisation of the risks associated with exclusion and the problems facing the most excluded members of society (Furlong & Cartmel 1997).

The rhetoric of 'social exclusion' has revitalized debate in social and urban policy and provided a new language upon which to allow policy-makers concerned with tackling the worst social and economic problems to hang their programme of work. Within this context, the developments in urban policy in Scotland introduced with the Social Inclusion Partnership programme are intended to widen the traditional focus of urban policy programmes to respond to and target resources towards the most excluded groups in society as well as towards deprived neighbourhoods. Thus, the development of the SIP programme from April 1999 saw the introduction of 14 'thematic' SIPs concentrating on excluded groups within and beyond the most deprived neighbourhoods in addition to the 34 area-based SIPs, 21 of which were the converted PfP initiatives and 13 where new area-based SIPs gaining funding with the development of this programme.

The development of the SIP programme introducing thematic as well as area-based SIPs is clearly influenced both by this new policy context on social exclusion, while also introducing a new phase in urban policy programmes in Scotland. Thus, the introduction of a policy concern to target resources towards excluded groups alongside the traditional targeting towards deprived neighbourhoods provides the framework for the development of this study.

Both the Scottish Executive Development Department (the permanent government department responsible for SIPs) and the Department of Urban Studies at the University of Glasgow were interested in understanding the potential implications of the developments in

urban policy programmes in Scotland at this time due to this move beyond a purely area-based approach. These two bodies, therefore, collaborated on the development of the theme of this ESRC CASE studentship; defined as a comparison of the measures to promote social inclusion within area-based and thematic SIPs. This being a new policy development meant that little was known about the potential of the thematic approach as compared with the traditional area-based approaches. Questions around the potential of these different forms of urban policy partnership to work towards promoting social inclusion remain central to the focus of this study. This study, therefore, attempts to contribute to understanding of the potential of this development within urban policy programmes in Scotland.

In taking forward this study, it emerged that a central focus of social inclusion policy, both within and beyond the programme developed around funded SIPs, related to concern about the exclusion of young people (Lloyd et al 2001). The decision was, therefore, taken to undertake a qualitative case study methodology to compare the approach taken within two youth-focused SIPs, one area-based (Drumchapel SIP) and one thematic (the Big Step), both based in Glasgow. Within Drumchapel SIP, the focus on young people was part of this SIP's wider neighbourhood focus, with young people identified as a population in need of specific interventions at the neighbourhood level. Within the Big Step, the central focus of their work was the exclusion experienced by care leavers in Glasgow.

The central aim of this study is, therefore, to compare the approach adopted by one thematic and one area-based Social Inclusion Partnership (SIP) in order to assess their potential for promoting the social inclusion of young people. Specific objectives are defined as follows:

1. To compare the theoretical and policy influences underpinning the agenda on social inclusion taken forward within the case study SIPs. Particular questions to be pursued are:
 - What are the main theoretical influences underpinning the approach taken by the case study SIPs?
 - How has the policy agenda on social inclusion steered the priorities identified and taken forward by the case study SIPs?
 - To what extent is the focus on young people taken forward within the case study SIPs motivated by concerns with social justice or with maintaining social control over this group?
2. To compare the practices of the case study SIPs in working towards achieving social inclusion. Particular questions to be pursued are:
 - How is the policy agenda on strategic working taken forward through the working practices of the case study SIPs?

- What are the perceived benefits and limitations of the partnership approach as an organising principle to take forward the work of the SIPs?
 - How are the case study SIPs promoting the involvement of young people within the decision-making structures of the SIPs?
3. To consider the wider implications of the approach taken by these two forms of SIP. Particular questions to be pursued are:
- What explanations can be offered for any similarities or differences in the approach taken by the two case study SIPs?
 - What is the potential contribution that can be made by each of these types of SIP in promoting social inclusion for young people?
 - What lessons for policy and practice can be taken from this policy focus on both excluded groups and deprived neighbourhoods?

The chapters that follow consider these issues in more detail. Chapter 2 starts by setting out the theoretical and policy developments surrounding the policy concern with social exclusion/inclusion in relation to how this terminology has been understood and taken forward within the UK policy setting and the specific relevance of the policy focus on young people that has emerged within this context. This discussion serves to provide the theoretical context for understanding the influence of the social inclusion policy context surrounding the developments occurring through the SIP programme. Chapter 3 then outlines the trends in urban policy programmes over their thirty-year history leading up to the introduction of the SIP programme in 1999. In so doing, policy concerns relating to: promoting strategic working; working in partnership; and community involvement are identified as central themes which SIPs are expected to respond to in their programme of work. These three themes, therefore, provide the main areas of comparison between the two types of SIP when reflecting on the practices undertaken in the case study SIPs.

Having set out the theoretical and policy context of the study in Chapters 2 and 3, Chapter 4 provides analysis of the developments emerging with the introduction of the SIP programme. Analysis of SIP documentation highlights the key developments to have emerged with this programme and through this illustrates the centrality of concern with young people that has emerged with this initiative. Chapter 5 then justifies the methodological approach adopted in taking this study forward. In so doing, issues relating to the underlying ontological and epistemological approach taken, the selection of the methods to take this study forward and the key stages in progressing the research through data collection and data analysis are all presented to explain how the study was undertaken.

Chapter 6 then turns attention to the case study SIPs, where analysis of SIP documentation provides information on the local context within which these SIPs have emerged. It focuses on the priorities identified at the time of applying for funding and the processes involved in developing the SIPs' plans relating to partner and community involvement, available partnership resources and the time involved in developing the SIPs' application for funding. This chapter offers a picture of the case study SIPs at start of their life and frames later discussions that take forward detailed analysis of the practices of the case study SIPs.

Chapter 7 contributes towards answering two of the research questions, as outlined above. Firstly, the chapter reflects on the theoretical influences underpinning the approach taken by the case study SIPs in working to achieve social inclusion. Secondly, the chapter considers the extent to which the focus on young people taking forward within the case study SIPs may be motivated by concerns with social justice or with maintaining social control over this group.

Chapter 8 looks at the working practices of the case study SIPs and focuses on answering the question of how the policy agenda on strategic working is taken forward through the working practices of the case study SIPs. The principal concern of this chapter is to compare the approach to working pursued by the case study SIPs and through this to reflect on the extent to which the chosen approach suggests that the case study SIPs are working 'strategically'.

Chapter 9 then turns attention to the agenda on partnership working, where the central question of interest is to compare the perceived benefits and limitations of the partnership approach as an organising principle to take forward the work of the case study SIPs. While the discussion on strategic working presented in Chapter 8 centres on outlining how the SIPs were working to achieve their aims, the discussion in Chapter 9 highlights how those involved in the case study SIPs perceive the partnership framework as facilitating or limiting the work that they are undertaking.

Chapter 10 looks at the contrasts between the two SIPs in their approach to involving young people in their work. Here the aim is to answer the question of how the case study SIPs are promoting the involvement of young people in the decision-making structures of the SIPs. In so doing, attention is given to the forms of involvement promoted within these SIPs, the factors influencing the approach to involvement that are taken forward and the motivations underpinning the chosen approach to involvement promoted within each SIP.

Finally, Chapter 11 draws on the data presented in earlier chapters to present key findings from this study while also reflecting on the wider applicability and policy implications that emerge from undertaking this study.

It should be noted that this study began in late 1999, and the fieldwork was undertaken between late 2000 and mid-2001. Developments in policy since 2001 are not considered in this study in order to set the data collection and policy analysis within the same period.

Chapter 2: The Agenda on Social Inclusion

Introduction

In order to begin to build a picture of the theoretical and policy context within which Social Inclusion Partnerships (SIPs) have developed, this chapter sets out to consider the underlying influences steering the current policy commitment to achieving social inclusion. To consider this issue, the chapter focuses on setting out the influences that have led to the development of theoretical and policy interest in social exclusion/inclusion in the UK. In particular, a policy commitment to achieving social inclusion has emerged as a central plank of policy under New Labour since the late 1990s; which has brought with it a distinctively British interpretation of the policy problems and the responses needed to address these. While it is argued that the notion of achieving social inclusion is open to differing interpretations, in practice what has emerged within the UK policy context is a targeted programme focusing on those who are excluded from mainstream economic and social opportunities. Within this context, it is argued that the rhetoric of achieving social inclusion promotes the alleviation of barriers to inclusion facing the most excluded groups both within and beyond the most deprived neighbourhoods. However, underpinning this policy agenda is a more or less explicit concern with tackling the problematic elements of social exclusion in terms of the costs to wider society. In particular, deprived neighbourhoods and excluded young people emerge as central areas of policy concern. With that in mind, the chapter ends by raising a number of questions relating to the potential implications of this policy framework for the practice of SIPs.

Developing Debates on Social Exclusion

Policy concern with 'social exclusion' has only a relatively recent history in the UK, where the term has taken centre stage under the New Labour Government (Fairclough 2000; Levitas 1998; Percy-Smith 2000). In part, the popularity of this terminology relates to the differing interpretations that can be applied to it. The first task of this chapter is, therefore, to begin to unpack the potential meanings associated with this term.

The concept of 'social exclusion' is historically associated with French society where it was first used in the 1960s to refer to people, usually immigrants, living on the periphery of society with no access to social insurance (Gore 1995). In the 1970s the term took on a more general usage to refer to all groups who did not have access to social insurance benefits. Subsequently, the understanding of being 'excluded' widened to include a greater number of social groups, including lone parents, disabled people, the long term unemployed; in short, those seen as

‘social misfits’ (Silver 1994; 532). Its origins are, thus, associated with a particular political tradition relating to French Republicanism. As Silver (1994; 537) states:

[The term] not only originated in France, but is deeply anchored in a particular interpretation of French revolutionary history and Republican thought. From this perspective ‘exclusion’ is conceived not simply as an economic or political phenomenon, but as a deficiency of ‘solidarity’, a break in the social fabric.

Other authors similarly use this terminology to refer to the relationship between social groups and wider society. For example, Cousins (1998; 128) suggests that social exclusion refers to a process in which “the relationship between the individual and society [has] ruptured”, while Room (1995; 106) talks about people as socially excluded when they are left out of the ‘moral order’ of society. Thus, there is a consensus amongst these authors that social exclusion refers to a breaking of citizenship ties and the resultant deficiencies and inequalities that emerge for some social groups from this breakage (Gore 1995; Cousins 1998).

Continuing this concern with individuals and their relationship to society, Silver (1995) outlines three paradigms of social exclusion based on different forms of social integration.

Table 2.1: Three paradigms of social exclusion*

	<i>Solidarity</i>	<i>Specialisation</i>	<i>Monopoly</i>
Conception of integration	Group solidarity	Individual Interdependence	Social closure
Source of integration	Moral	Exchange	Citizenship
Ideology	Republican	Liberal	Social Democratic
Discourse	Exclusion, Social Cohesion	Discrimination, Market Failure	Inequality, Underclass
Seminal Thinkers	Durkheim	Locke	Marx, Weber, Marshall

* adapted from Silver (1995; 62)

The first paradigm, *solidarity*, relates to the French Republican view of society where social exclusion is the result of a breaking of the social tie, a failure of the relationship between society and the individual. Implicitly, this approach suggests that there is a core of shared values and rights, around which social order is constructed. The Durkheimian influence of this approach is seen through the concern with social integration between groups in order to achieve a society where shared interests supersede those of individuals, groups or class interests (Silver 1995; 66). The focus is, thus, on an interpretation of social cohesion, where civil society promotes cultural solidarity and where social exclusion emerges from a threat to the social order.

The *specialisation* paradigm, on the other hand, draws on liberal conceptions of society, where societies are composed of individuals with diverse interests and capabilities, and the structure of society is built around divisions of labour and exchange in both economic and social spheres. This individualist approach, evident in British and American social policy (Cousins 1998), highlights differences between individuals that lead to specialisation within the market and amongst social groups. Within this paradigm, social order is maintained through voluntary exchanges between individuals driven by their own interests and motivations. Individuals may exclude themselves by their choices, may be excluded because of the patterns of interests within society, or exclusion may occur as a result of discrimination, market failures or unenforced rights (Rodger 2000). Thus, individuals may (voluntarily) participate in some domains while being excluded from others. Exclusion from one social domain, therefore, does not imply exclusion from all. Social exclusion within this paradigm is not viewed as being as problematic as within the solidarity paradigm as a result of individuals being free to move in and out of spheres of exclusion and inclusion (Silver 1994).

The third paradigm views exclusion as the consequence of group *monopoly*. Drawing on Weber, and to a lesser extent Marx, social order is achieved through coercion occurring within a set of hierarchical power relations (Silver 1995). This view of social exclusion is most evident in social democratic countries such as Sweden (Cousins 1998), where exclusion occurs through conflicts between groups based on class, status and power (Silver 1995). Within this setting, social exclusion occurs through insiders protecting their domains against outsiders by constructing barriers and restricting access to occupations, cultural resources, and goods and services, while promoting solidarity amongst 'insiders'. Within the monopoly paradigm, society is recognised as being inherently unequal, while order is maintained through control over 'the excluded' (Silver 1994).

While the term has a long history within the European context, the origins of debates on social exclusion in the UK are quite different due to the dominance in the UK of concern with income poverty. The liberal/conservative ideology pursued by the successive Conservative Governments throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, not only denied the existence of poverty in the UK, but considered the growth in inequality between groups during this period as a positive outcome in order to encourage the market to work freely and efficiently (Pantazis 2000). Within this political climate, the language of social exclusion offered Conservative politicians a way of engaging in social policy debates at the UK and European level without damaging their political image by acknowledging the existence of poverty (Berghman 1995). As a result of this political framework, UK academics used the term social exclusion as a way

of highlighting concerns with growing 'relative poverty' (Townsend 1979) at a time when a significant minority of people were being left behind during a period of economic growth increasing overall living standards for the majority (Hills 1995; Gordon 2000). Through this relativist approach, 'social exclusion' became a term used to highlight concern with the social divisions caused by some members of society being excluded from the opportunities and resources enjoyed by the majority (Walker & Walker 1997). As Walker (1997; 48) states:

... it is increasingly apparent that the traditional concept of poverty provides an inadequate description of the circumstances of the tens of millions of people who do not receive an adequate share of Europe's growing wealth.

This particularly British academic perspective on social exclusion focuses on the fact that more people in the UK, and other Western European countries, are wealthier than at any point previously and that consequently those who have not gained from this general growth in living standards are relatively excluded from this overall growth.

European writers on social exclusion reject this focus on income poverty through its central concern with addressing *distributional* aspects of exclusion (Room 1995). In contrast, the European concern with 'social exclusion' focuses on group interactions and participation in society, so emphasising *relational* issues of exclusion (Room 1995). Increasingly, writers in the UK are coming to acknowledge this understanding of social exclusion as distinct from concerns with poverty as it allows conceptualisation of a more multi-dimensional perspective (see Madanipour 1998) that potentially allows better understanding of the 'complex dynamic of life trajectories' (Byrne 1999; 2).

However, while accepted as a useful term in some quarters, there are those who have concerns that the language of social exclusion is either a way of distracting from the underlying social inequalities that frame the experience of exclusion (Lister 2000) or recognise that there is no clear definition of social exclusion (Watt & Jacobs 2000). That said, three underlying principles can be seen to frame understanding of social exclusion. Firstly, there is recognition of the importance of *agency* in creating and sustaining exclusion (Williams 1998). As Atkinson (1998) points out "exclusion implies an act, with an agent or agents" (p.7). Moreover, 'agency' refers to both the excluded and the excluders (at both individual and institutional level); where people are the victims of exclusionary behaviour, act as the agents of others exclusion (Kleinman 1998) or alternatively behave in such a way as to create their own exclusion (Burchardt et al 2002).

Secondly, social exclusion is a *dynamic* process (Byrne 1999). This dynamism links to the concern with agency noted above, where social exclusion is seen as occurring over time, is

influenced by access to resources and takes place within a specific social setting, within which the actions of agents frame the experience of exclusion. As Byrne points out:

Note that the term 'social exclusion' is inherently dynamic; exclusion happens in time, in a time of history, and 'determines' the lives of the individuals and collectives that are excluded and of those individuals and collectives who are not. Note also that although the term is clearly systemic, that is to say it is about the character of the social system and about the dynamic development of social structures, at the same time it has implications for agency. 'Exclusion' is something that is done by some people to other people (emphasis in original) (Byrne 1999; 1).

Thus, social exclusion is understood as being both dynamic and multi-dimensional through the interplay of these different factors that act to create and recreate social exclusion. Thirdly, social exclusion is seen as a *relative* concept. This relatively refers to the unequal risk of social exclusion between groups depending on where they live, their family circumstances and their access to resources (Hills 1998b; Rutter & Madge 1976). As compared with previous debates on poverty, some authors are, therefore, aware of the potential of the discourse on social exclusion as allowing extrapolation of complex factors of exclusion that go beyond solely focusing on income poverty.

Understanding Social Exclusion in the UK

While the language of social exclusion potentially does allow a more complex understanding of the barriers and inequalities faced by some groups, there is awareness that this language is opaque and does not allow a clear conceptualisation of what policy is intended to achieve when proposing to tackle social exclusion (Burchardt et al 2002). In response to this intangibility, Levitas (1998) has created a three-fold analytical framework through which to reflect on potential influences on the New Labour approach to social exclusion¹. These relate to:

- *Social integration discourse* (SID): social exclusion is the result of lack of access to the labour market and other forums that promote social integration through active participation in society.
- *Moral underclass discourse* (MUD): social exclusion is the result of people's lifestyles. Of particular importance are concerns about welfare dependency, youth unemployment, single parenthood, crime and drug use.
- *Redistributive discourse* (RED): social exclusion is the result of divides in society that occur through a lack of access to financial resources. This is a reworking of the traditional debates on poverty dominant within UK theoretical discourse.

¹ The term 'New Labour' refers to the reformist arm of the Labour Party that emerged in the 1990s (see Jones 1996).

The social integration discourse draws on a similar agenda to that pursued through Silver's solidarity paradigm through focusing on building links between individuals and wider society. The key difference for the UK policy context is the focus on labour market participation as the central route through which to achieve social integration (Lee & Murie 1999). Indeed, it is argued that within the UK policy context there is not the same concern with social cohesion in relation to a shared group identity as the Durkheimian 'anomie-integration' concept central to European policy (Andersen 1999). Rather the focus is argued to be directly on "the requirements of the economy (competitiveness and job creation)" (Levitas 1998; 19).

The moral underclass discourse has been popular in policy thinking in the UK since the late 1980s when the term was imported from the United States² by Charles Murray (1990) to highlight concerns about a perceived growth in welfare dependency amongst young single mothers and unemployed young men. Underpinning this position is a view that there are social groups endowed with a different set of values from the mainstream, an idea initiated through Oscar Lewis's 1960s research on 'cultures of poverty' within inner cities (Lewis 1998).

The redistributive discourse, unlike SID and MUD, moves from focusing on the actions of individuals to instead focus on the social context within which exclusion is experienced (Levitas 1998). RED is, therefore, influenced by particularly UK academic concerns with poverty and structural inequalities (Burden 2000; Oppenheim 1998a), where poverty should be recognised as a causal factor in creating and reinforcing social exclusion (Oppenheim 1998b; Spicker 2002). Through this approach, the focus is on redistributing financial and social resources to reduce inequalities rather than fitting people into an inherently unequal society (Lister 2000). Sitting within a traditional 'Old Left' social democratic model, Lister argues that RED fits more with egalitarian notions of 'social justice', whereas SID and MUD are more closely aligned to notions of 'social cohesion':

The primary objective here [in RED] is social justice in contrast to the other two discourses, which are activated by the primary objective of social cohesion and distinguished by a lack of concern with wider inequalities (Lister 2000; 39).

As part of this debate, what emerges are different levels of policy intervention in order to achieve an acceptable level of 'inclusion'. To explain further, Lister argues that equality of opportunity focuses on providing opportunities within an unequal economic and social

² In the US context, there has been a more or less explicit racial element to the underclass discourse (MacDonald 1997b); with African-American and Hispanic Americans over-represented amongst the urban poor and therefore viewed as being culturally distinct from other groups. This is a view contested by authors such as Wilson (1987), who argues that 'cultural' factors are not race specific, rather they emerge through social conditions impacting differentially on different groups.

system. The lack of acknowledgement of class divisions that frame opportunities and create social exclusion for some marginalised groups (Jordan 1996) suggests that the principal concerns of policy are to ensure that people are contributing to the economy and society rather than being valued as individuals (Sen 1990). By not acknowledging wider structural inequalities, the potential for 'inclusion' is likely to be limited to how people are best able to navigate the opportunities made available within an unequal socio-economic context (Lister 2000). In contrast to this position, Lister argues that egalitarian conceptions of social justice go further by attempting to produce more equal outcomes rather than just increasing available opportunities; although she points out that the concern with equality of outcome is not simply about evening out outcomes for all, rather it is about finding more acceptable 'degrees of (in)equality' (Lister 2000; 43) that take account of structural barriers to social participation (Askonas & Stewart 2000). Thus, the central concern within the egalitarian view of social justice is to ensure a 'fair' distribution of outcomes, whether in relation to resources or access to opportunities (see Rawls 1972; Sen 1990).

According to Gray (2000), this traditional egalitarian perspective on social justice is no longer 'politically feasible'. Rather, he argues that 'inclusion' offers a viable political alternative that promotes social cohesion as its guiding principle. As a communitarian, Gray's view of a cohesive society is one in which there is a general consensus around a basic set of values and goals shared by all, alongside a lack of widespread alienation or marginalisation of disaffected groups. Through this approach, the aim is to promote consensus between groups by emphasising shared morality and values, while minimising conflict (Forrest & Kearns 1999). Thus, 'social inclusion' is thought to occur where every member of society has access to "fair opportunities and the satisfaction of basic needs" (Gray 2000; 30). Indeed, Gray is clear that this approach is distinct from that promoted by egalitarians:

Supporters of social inclusion do not pursue an ideal of egalitarian justice, but an ideal of common life. This will surely condemn many inequalities. But not all. Inclusion is indifferent to some of the inequalities that egalitarians condemn. Policies promoting inclusion will sometimes generate inequalities that are regarded by egalitarians as unfair but are viewed by advocates of inclusion as fair. (Gray 2000; 22-23)

In highlighting this distinction, Gray (2000) argues that supporters of a cohesive approach to social inclusion promote the goal of equality of opportunity, while accepting that there may be unequal outcomes. In short, the distinction between promoting social cohesion or social justice as the policy objective relates to the relative importance placed on promoting either equality of opportunity or equality of outcome as the goal of policy (Franklin 1997; Marshall et al 1997). As later discussions in this chapter illustrate, it is this social cohesion model of

‘inclusion’ that has emerged as central to New Labour policy since coming to power. To begin to explore this, attention now turns to the influences that have steered the policy commitment to social inclusion that has emerged under New Labour.

The Development of a New Policy Agenda: ‘Social Justice’ under New Labour³

It was noted above that social exclusion was a term used by the Conservative Government as a more politically acceptable policy concern than that relating to poverty. For the reformist arm of the Labour Party in the early 1990s, however, in developing their new policy focus, the concern with tackling social exclusion emerged as a central policy priority (Lund 2002). The debate that follows outlines the influences that have led to the policy programme on social exclusion that has emerged since the New Labour Government came to power in 1997.

The first significant development was the commissioning by John Smith in 1992 of the enquiry into social justice and economic well being that culminated in the publication in 1994 of the Borrie Report: *Social Justice: Strategies for National Renewal* (Borrie 1994). The combination of ‘substantive policy and political positioning’ (Levitas 1998) that emerged through this report was significant in that it proposed achieving ‘social justice’ by promoting economic efficiency as the main policy goal (Oppenheim 1998b; 11). Through this approach, the main aim of policy was the ‘extension of economic opportunity’ (Borrie 1994; 95) through encouraging labour market participation as the main route through which to increase household income and maintain economic stability (Borrie 1994). This focus is argued by Levitas (1998) to promote a more limited notion of ‘social justice’ as centring on goals relating to equality of opportunity notably relating to labour market participation or other ‘socially useful activity’ (Borrie 1994) rather than promoting wider egalitarian concerns with achieving equality of outcome. Indeed, this policy shift has been cited as promoting ‘endowment egalitarianism’ (White 1997) as the main policy goal, where the concern is to facilitate skills acquisition, training and welfare incentives that encourage participation in the labour market as the main route through which to tackle social exclusion:

[T]he main elements of the Commission’s reform strategy are endowment egalitarianism (which focuses on widening access to productive endowments, such as skills), supplemented by an active, redistributive welfare state... (White 1997; 79)

The second development to influence the policy focus taken by the reformist arm of the Labour Party in the mid 1990s was the publication of *The Rowntree Inquiry into Income and Wealth*

³ As the discussion in this section will show, the policy concern with ‘social justice’ discussed here is distinct from that discussed earlier as an egalitarian concept focusing on structural inequalities.

(Hills 1995). The report outlined an analysis of the growing income divide between rich and poor households over the period between 1977 and 1990, paying particular attention to rises in unemployment and income differentials, alongside decreasing welfare benefits and a more regressive tax system (Levitas 1998). The implicit focus of this report was to highlight the plight of those who left out of the economic advantages enjoyed by the majority during a period of economic change in Britain. Thus, concern with social cohesion can be seen through the acknowledgement of a growing income inequality identified as ‘damaging both to the social fabric and to economic efficiency’ (Levitas 1998; 41). What was highlighted in this report was an awareness of the wider societal impact of an increased social and economic disparity between rich and poor. In response to these concerns, the report recommended promoting a more active labour market and flexible benefits and tax system to better allow economic inclusion, while also promoting specialist measures to revitalise deprived areas (Hills 1995).

What these two reports share in terms of priorities is a concern with promoting participation in the labour market as the main route to tackle social exclusion. Through this approach, there has been an explicit policy commitment to ensuring that policy interventions take account of the need for greater social integration within a framework concerned with economic efficiency as the central policy goal (Oppenheim 1998b). The ‘centre-left consensus’ that has emerged in this context, therefore, defines social inclusion within a ‘social integrationist’ discourse, with paid employment seen as the main route through which to achieve an inclusive society (Levitas 1996).

Blair’s leadership of the Labour Party developed this social integrationist approach further through the promotion of a ‘stakeholder economy’ (Rodger 2000). Radice (1996) illustrates this perspective when citing a speech given by Blair when in opposition:

I believe in a ‘stakeholder economy’ in which everyone has the opportunity to succeed and everyone the responsibility to contribute. It is based on the idea that unless we mobilise the efforts and talents of the whole population, we will fail to achieve our economic potential... A stakeholder economy is one in which opportunity is extended, merit rewarded and no group of individuals locked out. (Blair cited in Radice 1996; 10-11)

Rodger (2000) argues that the language used by Blair highlights his commitment to the ideals of active participation by everyone whether through labour market participation or through some other socially useful activity. Clearly then, the concern with labour market participation as the principal route through which to achieve integration, is only one element of an inclusive society. Aligned to this are wider ideological principles related to encouraging participation in order to ensure that everyone is playing an active role in the economy and society more

generally, and through this that they are taking responsibility for their own inclusion. To a certain extent, this approach fits into Hutton's (1996) belief in a 'stakeholder society' within which welfare and citizenship are linked through reciprocity between state and individual. Where the views of Hutton (1996) and the Labour leadership diverge is on whom the policy should focus. While Hutton (1996) supports the idea of a society where all citizens contribute to and gain from the welfare state, thus encouraging reciprocity between all members of society, the Labour leadership have explicitly chosen to target attention on those in greatest need. Through this approach, there is no explicit concern with creating collective responsibility amongst all social groups; rather the focus is encouraging those on welfare benefits to participate within the market economy (Thomson 1998). Consequently, the responsibility agenda has a limited applicability to those who are the subject of policy interventions to encourage their 'inclusion' into the mainstream of society.

This concern with 'stakeholding' as a route through which to draw out reciprocity between individual's rights and their responsibilities to wider society, links to the final conceptual idea to have emerged under Blair's leadership of the Labour Party; the promotion of communitarianism (Rodger 2000). As Gould (1998; 233) argues:

The idea that individuals are defined by their relationship to the community, not in isolation from the community, is Blair's grounding idea, his core political insight.

Blair's commitment to communitarianism is argued to be influenced by the work of John Macmurray, a Christian socialist whose approach to communitarianism focuses centrally on promoting civic duty (Levitas 1998; Lund 2002). In contrast to much writing on communitarianism, which focuses on promoting moral order at the community level, and implicitly suggests a form of social control (see, for example, Etzioni 1993, Gray 1996, Tam 1998), Macmurray focuses centrally on community as a location for mutual action (Levitas 1998). Thus, as Lund (2002; 197) states:

Macmurray thought the person, not the collective, was the primary element of society – a sentiment adopted by Blair in his claim that collective action should advance the interests of the individual not the collective.

For Macmurray the focus on 'community' is less related to managing neighbourhoods per se, and more about promoting relationships between people in all forms of social interaction. Thus, Macmurray's perspective centres on individual awareness of mutual ties, and through this emphasises the interplay between responsibility, individual agency and choice when engaging with others (Levitas 1998). However, the extent to which the policy commitment to communitarianism promoted under New Labour since coming to power remains influenced

by Macmurray is questionable given later discussions on the moral agenda that underpins concerns about deprived neighbourhoods and vulnerable young people. Indeed, it is argued later that there are clearly elements of social control within the current policy focus that suggest closer links to Etzioni's view of communitarianism than Macmurray's.

The Policy Agenda on Social Exclusion under New Labour

This discussion of the key influences steering the policy direction taken by the reformist arm of the Labour Party while in opposition gives a strong sense of the policy agenda on social exclusion that was to emerge once the Party were in power from 1997. As Lund (2002) notes, the policy programme taken forward by New Labour under the banner of addressing social exclusion highlights five key elements, each of which are now outlined.

The first priority is rooted in the idea of 'work for those who can' (Lund 2002). Given the earlier point about the policy programme promoted by New Labour targeting those in need, this policy priority clearly relates to encouraging those who claim state benefits to participate in the labour market (Levitas 1996). This policy priority is not merely about encouraging people into the labour market, but underpins an explicit political strategy where people are encouraged to view job-seeking as part of their contract in gaining access to welfare (Mead 1992). A range of policy programmes have been developed to take forward this policy priority, including variations on the New Deal initiative to tackle unemployment of particular groups e.g. young people, the long term unemployed, disabled people, older working age people and lone parents. In addition, further work incentives are offered through policy initiatives such as the National Minimum Wage intended to 'make work pay', a range of Tax Credits and the National Childcare Strategy (Lund 2002).

The second priority refers to 'security for those who cannot work' (Lund 2002). According to Lund, this priority centres mainly on ensuring that older people and disabled people who are unable to work are supported by policy measures. With regard to the working age population, little has been done on this priority. For older people, the most notable development has been the replacement of Income Support with the Minimum Income Guarantee for pensioners (Lund 2002). The group who have, in fact, emerged as central to this policy priority are children, evident through the policy commitment to 'eradicating child poverty in a generation' (DSS 1999). To respond to this priority a range of policy measures were introduced, notably

Child Benefit for all families with children and the Working Family Tax Credit and the Children's Tax Credit for low income working families with children⁴.

The third priority is the attachment of rights to responsibilities (Giddens 1998). The earlier discussion of the stakeholder/community agenda offers the most coherent illustration of the concern with responsibilities as well as rights emerging through New Labour policy. Specifically, the concern with encouraging labour market participation offers illustration of the responsibility agenda in practice, through linking up entitlement to benefits with an active role for job-seekers.

Fourthly, there is a priority to target resources towards deprived areas (Lund 2002). Growing concern about the divide between the worst neighbourhoods and the rest of the country has steered the early work of the Social Exclusion Unit to focus mainly on developing the *Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy* (SEU 1998; 2001). Through this initiative, there has been a growth in new targeted initiatives aiming to address the needs of the most deprived areas, including a range of 'zones' (e.g. Employment Zones, Education Action Zones and Health Action Zones), Surestart initiatives and New Deal for Communities (Hills 1998a).

Accompanying the concern with targeting towards the most deprived areas, the final priority highlighted by New Labour has been a commitment to 'inclusive' mainstream services (Lund 2002). The main aim of this measure was to link up mainstream provision with the needs of the most excluded and through this approach to draw attention to how specialist and mainstream programmes could work together to meet the needs of those identified as in greatest need. Indeed, as the second DSS (2000a) annual report states:

... core public services should bear the primary responsibility for tackling deprivation, [however] targeted interventions focused on deprived areas or those aimed at specific client groups... should continue to have a key role in tackling the problems in the areas where they are greatest.

Clearly, some of these priorities are developments of policy influences steering Conservative policy rather than new ideas introduced by the New Labour Government. Indeed, concern with encouraging 'active citizenship' was a central principle of the Conservative Government from the late 1980s (Kearns 1995), while promoting a policy commitment of rights and responsibilities was also central to policy programmes to promote labour market participation (Mead 1992). Along with the explicit focus on targeting the needs of the 'deserving' poor such as low-income families, older people and children, the contribution made by New Labour is the presentation of a range of policies as inter-related priorities. By packaging these up

⁴ In April 2003 new Tax Credits were introduced to replace these: Working Tax Credit and Children's Tax Credit. It is not the purpose of this study to reflect on these changes.

together under the banner of achieving social inclusion there appears to be significant change in policy when in fact much of the rhetoric of policy involves a reordering of previous policy priorities. This involves taking some traditional social democratic principles and some new right principles and through this creating what is referred to as a 'Third Way' politics (Fairclough 2000). Underlying the political commitment to a Third Way politics are four propositions:

- Globalisation is the root cause of much economic and social change since the 1980s (Fairclough 2000).
- Previous governments have failed to respond to growing social inequality meaning there is now a need to undo the damage done (Burden 2000).
- The most effective means of bringing people into the mainstream of life is through participation in work and mainstream society (Giddens 1998).
- Achieving social justice does not require significant redistribution of resources from rich to poor. Rather, what is needed is a 'decent floor' income level for all, promoted through links between the tax and benefits system to support those who are in work and on a low income (Hewitt 2000).

The policy commitment to achieving social inclusion is framed by these overarching policy concerns; which serve to further reinforce the relationship between the policy commitment to social inclusion and the underlying value system of social cohesion. This is seen in particular through the concern with promoting a 'decent floor' income for those at risk of social exclusion, rather than promoting 'Old Left' egalitarian notions of redistribution.

Achieving Social Inclusion: priorities for change

While, the above discussion has outlined the priorities and influences underpinning the policy agenda on social inclusion, here attention turns to the specific policy themes that have emerged in practice with the development of this policy programme. Firstly, there is the overarching thematic focus that is evidence from the UK Government annual report *Opportunity for All: tackling poverty and social exclusion* (DSS 1999), which provides a picture of the issues identified by the UK Government to achieve an inclusive society (see Appendix 1). This document outlines a set of UK-wide priorities, some of which are to be addressed through reserved responsibilities relating to tax and benefits, while others are to be taken forward by the devolved administrations in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The annual report *Social Justice... a Scotland where everyone matters* (Scottish Executive 1999a) outlines the priorities for achieving social inclusion in Scotland (see Appendix 2).

In producing annual reports for the UK and for each of the devolved administrations, what emerges are links between the policy commitments that require responses from the UK government and those that require attention from the devolved administrations. For example, in addressing poverty and unemployment, the Scottish annual report acknowledges the role of the UK Government in developing policy responses via the tax and benefit system. Alongside this, a range of measures were proposed to be taken forward as part of Scotland's devolved responsibilities to respond to need in relation to matters such as education, health and regeneration of deprived areas. Indeed, as was noted upon publication of the first Scottish annual report in November 1999:

Achieving our ambitious target can only happen through partnership with colleagues across the UK. We share a common commitment to delivering social justice... Earlier this year the UK Government's 'Opportunity for All: tackling poverty and social exclusion' laid out UK benchmarks in reserved areas and we have taken these on board. In devolved areas we map out distinctive Scottish measures.
(Scottish Executive 1999a; 4)

What these two annual reports do is outline a set of targets for policy: 32 for the UK Government (outlined in Appendix 1) and 29 for the Scottish Executive (outlined in Appendix 2) along with illustrations of the particular policy measures being employed to achieve these targets. Each year the publication of the annual report is intended to outline progress made in working towards meeting these targets through a range of statistical measures and a discussion of the policy developments that have occurred in the previous year.

Both annual reports frame their concerns with social exclusion and poverty around a broad life-course model, with targets set around meeting the needs of children, young people, families and working age people, older people and communities. Under these headings, the following list highlights the issues that are of central policy concern:

- Lack of opportunity to work.
- Lack of opportunity to acquire education and skills.
- Childhood poverty and deprivation.
- Disrupted families.
- Barriers to older people living active, healthy lives.
- Poor health.
- Poor housing.
- Poor neighbourhoods.
- Fear of crime.
- Disadvantaged groups.

(Percy-Smith 2000; 7-8)

The focus on the most excluded members of society is apparent from these priorities, as is the concern with poverty and unemployment. However, what also emerges as central to the policy

programme in practice are concerns to tackle some of the problematic aspect of people's behaviour. For example, as Appendix 1 shows, the UK targets highlight concern with teenage parenting and drug and alcohol misuse, while as noted in Appendix 2, in Scotland there is concern with poor diet, smoking and school truancy. Thus, what starts to emerge is a concern with tackling and limiting the negative behaviour of individuals alongside the more explicit policy rhetoric around increasing opportunities to participate in mainstream society. Consequently, what starts to emerge are implicit concerns with the moral underclass discourse (MUD) alongside the previously acknowledged concern with the social integration discourse (SID).

As part of this overarching life course model, two distinct policy priorities have emerged as central to the agenda on social exclusion; a concern with addressing the needs of deprived neighbourhoods and of tackling the problems of excluded young people. Evidence of the centrality of these priorities can be seen through the policy priorities taken forward through the work of the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) in the Cabinet Office⁵ and the Scottish Social Inclusion Network (SSIN)⁶ in the Scottish Executive. For example, within the SEU the first five reports to be published were concerned with:

- truancy and school exclusions;
- rough sleeping;
- teenage pregnancy;
- young people (16-18) not taking part in education, training or employment; and
- neighbourhood renewal (SEU 1999)

In Scotland, the reports published by the SSIN Action Teams were similarly concerned with⁷:

- excluded young people
- inclusive communities
- the impact of local anti-poverty action (Scottish Office 1999)

That deprived neighbourhoods and young people have emerged as central policy priorities could relate to several factors. One potential explanation is that neither of these issues are the responsibility of a single government department to address. Indeed, the long history of urban policy programmes, discussed further in Chapter 3, is intended to respond to this need to link up government departments and service providers to provide a co-ordinated response to the

⁵ The SEU is now part of the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.

⁶ The SSIN is an advisory group of 'experts' that provide support to the work of the Scottish Executive in taking forward the work programme around achieving social inclusion.

⁷ There were five Action Teams in total; the other two were concerned with evaluating policy/practice initiatives and good practice in achieving change.

needs of deprived neighbourhoods. The current policy commitment to 'joining up' (SEU 1999) suggests a renewal of an on-going concern with co-ordinating responses to social exclusion. On a similar point, it was noted by Harrison (2000) that urban policy programmes aim to address 'wicked problems'; meaning problems that are difficult to define in themselves and that, consequently, are difficult to find coherent solutions to. Arguably, the concerns with deprived neighbourhoods and excluded young people that emerge through the social exclusion policy agenda suggests an awareness of this 'wicked problem' status, as does the general policy concern with tackling social exclusion. The final topic for debate in this chapter is to consider further this focus on deprived neighbourhoods and young people within the social inclusion policy context.

Focusing on Deprived Neighbourhoods

Given the policy commitment to addressing the needs of deprived neighbourhoods profiled as part of the social exclusion policy agenda, an extensive number of new area-based programmes have emerged across the UK (Foley & Martin 2000). While it is clear that in policy terms there is a commitment to promoting area-based initiatives (ABI's), the debates on the relative merits and limitations of this approach highlight disagreement over the underlying causes of deprivation and the resultant policy responses that are thought to best address this (see, for example, Parkinson 1998b; Smith 1999; Gordon 2000, Oatley 2000). For example, supporters of area-based targeting suggest that the benefits of this approach relate to the following issues:

- With some areas having high levels of economic and social problems, specialist targeting programmes provide extra resources to add to mainstream provision to better meet need.
- Because problems are concentrated, a greater number of deprived people are captured if resources are geographically targeted than if they are spread more evenly.
- Focusing activity on small areas within tight boundaries can, potentially, make more of an impact than if resources are dissipated.
- Unlike national mainstream programmes, area-based programmes are often characterised by a 'bottom up' approach, underpinned by partnership working. This can result in effective identification of problems and delivery of solutions.
- Successful area-based programmes may act as pilots and ultimately lead to changes in delivery of mainstream policies. (see Smith 1999)

Critics, on the other hand, question many of the assumptions that underlie the rationale for area-based targeting. For example, Parkinson (1998b) highlights the following problems:

- Area targeting displaces problems between different neighbourhoods while not adding to the overall economic and social well-being of the city as a whole.

- Providing particular communities with increased resources creates dependency and so prevents residents finding ways out of the deprivation faced.
- Not all people requiring resources through regeneration initiatives live in areas of multiple deprivation; these people are, therefore, missed through the area-based approach.
- This approach is unlikely to work as the causes of the problems lie outside the area and relate to economic, social and institutional change occurring within society.

However, while there is clearly debate on the relative value of this approach, perhaps the most fundamental reason for political support being given to area-based initiatives (ABI's), is that this policy intervention offers a 'political tool' to focus explicit attention on the most deprived areas (Smith 1999). It is argued that the promotion of ABI's successfully side steps tackling the widespread nature of deprivation, while giving the impression that the problem is being addressed:

These responses at best concentrate resources in areas of high need for the wrong reasons, and at worst, seriously mislead us into thinking that we are tackling the problem when in fact we are only producing palliatives to alleviate the worst symptoms. (Oatley 2000; 89)

In taking this approach the central emphasis is on tackling the problems occurring within deprived neighbourhood in terms of both the economic and social phenomenon emerging locally and that are thought to be compounded by the concentration of poor people within poor areas. The view that policy has failed to successfully respond to localised deprivation using area-based initiatives (Chatterton & Bradley 2000) is argued to relate to the internalised focus of policy, where there is a pathologising of the area, within which both the incidence of deprivation and the causes of the problems that emerge there are directly attributed to the area itself (Oatley 2000). This focus is implicit within the review of past area-based policies in England undertaken as part of the development of the Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy (see PAT 16 2000), where it was highlighted that both economic and social change had been key indicators in the increased division between deprived and non-deprived areas. In particular, the increase in lone parent households and an increased availability of illegal drugs were recognised as having had a disproportionate effect on disadvantaged areas (PAT 16 2000). The policy agenda promoted as part of the social exclusion focus explicitly acknowledges the relationship between deprived areas and excluded groups, either as a result of the concentration of excluded groups leading to the creation of 'poor areas', or poorly resources areas creating and reinforcing the social exclusion facing particular people (Glennester et al 1999; Powell & Boyne 2001).

The complex relationship between people, households and places leads to authors questioning whether there is a particular 'area effect' that means people living in poor areas do less well specifically because they live in a poor area (Atkinson & Kintrea 2001). To explain further:

... 'area effects' suggest that there is more going on in an area than simply the concentration of poor people. It may mean that the simple fact of concentration produces some further or compounding disadvantage (Smith et al 2001; 1343).

While there are those who argue that the levels of deprivation in poor neighbourhoods are caused through wider socio-economic phenomenon creating concentrations of poverty (see Turok & Edge 1999; Webster 1999), there is a body of literature that finds that:

... there are causal associations between poor neighbourhoods and other social problems which are more than the consequences of macroeconomic forces or household characteristics, even if there is no agreement over exactly which social outcomes are the result of which factors (Atkinson & Kintrea 2001; 2279).

While there are those that take issue with this concern with area-effects, notably Kleinman (1998, 1999), there is an extensive literature that sets out the case for acknowledging the additional impact of place on the experiences of excluded people (see Ellen & Turner 1997 for a review of this discussion). One of the central reasons for the rejection of the notion of 'area-effects' is its' associations with cultural explanations for exclusion, which suggest a pathologising of poor people (Oatley 2000). Indeed, it is exactly this moral element to the experience of spatial exclusion that has underpinned the 'underclass' debate developed by authors such as Murray (1990), who argues that, in the UK context, welfare recipients (notably young unemployed men and teenage lone parents) are forming an underclass in response to available state support and the lack of incentives to work.

Rejecting this pathologising perspective, but accepting that a cultural element to the experience of spatial exclusion has emerged, authors such as Wilson (1987) and Wacquant (1993) have argued that people living in American 'ghettos' are excluded through economic change, leaving some groups out of the opportunities afforded by the majority. Thus, while there is an acceptance of an emergent 'underclass'⁸, this view is set within a context where it is believed that the cultural response is a reaction to available opportunities; while the result is that people are 'absolutely disempowered' by their spatial exclusion (Byrne 1999).

⁸ Although it should be noted that in recent years Wilson has replaced discussions on the 'underclass' with references to the 'ghetto poor' (Wilson 1993) in order to distance his perspective from that adopted by right wing liberal writers who suggest a pathologising of the urban poor.

The extent to which a moral element to the current policy concern with social exclusion has influenced the policy responses currently taken forward is difficult to accurately assess. As Davoudi & Atkinson (1999) point out:

[A]lthough, in general, the debate on social exclusion lacks the moralistic and pejorative overtones which have characterised the underclass debate in the USA... it could follow the same path if it is not underpinned by a clear theoretical understanding of the causal processes which are producing exclusion (p. 226).

In drawing out the centrality of the area-based focus to the policy priorities taken forward as part of the UK and Scottish policy commitment to achieving social inclusion the aim has been to highlight the centrality of area-based initiatives to the overarching policy focus taken under New Labour. This is an issue that is considered further in Chapter 3 when looking specifically at the urban policy context of this study. However, for the purposes of this discussion it is important to stress that the causes of social exclusion are identified as relating to individual and household characteristics alongside socio-economic phenomenon. Thus, the policy concern to focus attention directly on the area within which problems are occurring is likely to be steered by a concern to both directly manage and intervene to tackle the problems occurring within deprived communities, while also offering a politically acceptable way of addressing the inequalities between poor and non-poor neighbourhoods. It is in relation to the problematic aspects of youth that the moral element to the concern with social exclusion becomes more explicit.

Focusing on Excluded Young People

In relation to the policy concern with young people, two themes emerge. Firstly, there is a general policy concern with tackling the exclusion of young people evident through the life-course model adopted within *Opportunity for All* (DSS 1999) and *Social Justice... a Scotland where everyone matters* (Scottish Executive 1999a), within which young people are identified as a key group in need of policy interventions to address their social exclusion. Secondly, there is a specific concern to tackle the exclusion of young people at the local level. This is evident in Scotland through the SIP programme, where 11 of the 14 thematic SIPs and many of the area-based SIPs explicitly highlight concerns with tackling the exclusion of young people (see Chapter 4 for more on this issue). In addition, the SEU neighbourhood renewal programme also highlights concern with the exclusion of young people:

... a significant minority of young people today experience a range of problems and acute crises in adolescence. The scale of these problems is in many cases worse than this country's past experience and worse than other apparently comparable countries. (PAT 12 2000; 12)

This concern with the increased risk of difficulties and problems experienced by young people is argued by Furlong & Cartmel (1997) as emerging from radical change in labour market opportunities open to young people. Patterns within the youth labour market have changed significantly since the early 1970s, with more protracted school to work transitions meaning more young people staying in education for longer. The result is that the majority of young people are semi-dependent on family for longer periods of their life (Jones & Wallace 1992; Furlong & Cartmel 1997). This is compounded by changes in social security benefits which have increased the risks to vulnerable young people and made transitions for some young people more hazardous and differentiated than in previous generations (Dean 1997; Borland & Hill 1996). This awareness of increased risk at the critical transition stages for young people is also noted within the policy documentation produced from the Policy Action Team looking at young people's exclusion (PAT 12 2000), which notes that the following make up the central areas of risk for young people:

- poor early development
- poor school attendance
- being 'looked after' by a local authority
- contact with the police
- drug misuse
- teenage parenthood
- non-participation in education, employment and training (PAT 12 2000; 44)

However, while these 'risks' are identified as increasing the potential for young people to face social exclusion, there is no acknowledgement given to the social context within which these risks are experienced (Dean 1997; Jones & Wallace 1992). In particular, it is important to acknowledge the obstacles that frame young people's access to opportunities. For example, the structural frameworks within which some young people live in terms of class position and the associated opportunities and barriers related to this arguably play a part in framing the opportunities that are available:

Social inequality continues to exert a powerful hold over people's lives, but increasingly does so at the level of the individual rather than the group or class... People's life chances remain highly structured at the same time as they increasingly seek solutions on an individual, rather than collective, basis (Furlong & Cartmel 1997; 4).

Thus, it is this interaction of individualised trajectories of risk alongside the structural obstacles that limit the opportunities available that both shape the risk of social exclusion facing particular young people and the potential influence of Government initiatives to

respond to young people's social exclusion. However, the extent to which this social context is acknowledged in the policy responses offered to target the exclusion of young people requires further review of the policy interventions that are being promoted under the banner of achieving social inclusion.

That young people are viewed as a source of social and local problems is commonly recognised in much of the literature on young people's experience of exclusion (see, for example, Coles 1995; Roche & Tucker 1997; Dean 1997). Thus, there is a view that young people are seen both within the wider policy context and in their relations with adults as representing an 'index of social ills' (Jones & Wallace 1992). As illustration, the high policy profile given to youth unemployment, teenage pregnancy, youth crime, teenage drinking and drug use indicates the policy concerns to reduce the problems associated with young people (Novak 1997). The moral agenda underpinning this focus is that the breakdown of family life and traditional values is the cause of these problems (Murray 1990). As Frank Field is cited as saying:

We've got a number of young people who are now outside the labour market, who've created their own world, partly through drugs, partly through crime, partly through drawing welfare, and who are not prepared to join Great Britain Ltd again on the terms that we offer. (cited in Novak 1997; 29)

Young people within this interpretation are viewed as a problem for the order of society; an approach that fits within the social cohesion model of an inclusive society outlined earlier as being promoted under New Labour. In this context, increasing levels of participation in activities such as youth training and intermediate labour market initiatives is intended to maintain high levels of social control over young people in order to allow greater monitoring of their actions, while also reducing the problems associated with this group (Jones & Wallace 1992). Clearly then there is a policy commitment to engaging with young people in order to respond to their lack of participation in mainstream economic activities such as education and employment. However, added to this, the problems associated with young people at the local level also account for the concern with targeting the needs of young people within the SIP programme in Scotland and the Neighbourhood Renewal programme in England.

Given that there is a high concentration of young people living in deprived communities (Central Office of Information 1995), it is arguable that tackling this localised problem is an attempt to combat one of the key problems relating to deprived neighbourhoods; that of residents fear of young people (Scott et al 2000). This partly links back to the earlier discussion of area-effects where young people in particular are a group identified as likely to develop an underclass position (Murray 1990) within which they are also seen as the group most likely to

participate in alternative or anti-social lifestyles that bring them into conflict with adult residents within deprived neighbourhoods (Byrne 1999). Indeed, as Byrne (1999; 119) argues:

We might go further by employing a specifically dynamic view and see the antagonism between youth and elders as representing an emergent tendency with the youth attitudes being at least the basis of the new culture. (Byrne 1999; 119)

Thus, an implicit secondary aim of the current policy agenda around area-based initiatives is to tackle the problematic aspects of youth exclusion within the most deprived neighbourhoods. Within this context, excluded young people emerge as doubly problematic for policy: through their lack of participation in acceptable economic or social activities and through their problematic status at the neighbourhood level.

As part of this concern with tackling the problematic aspects of youth both generally and within the neighbourhood context is an underlying policy motivation to take a preventative approach to avoid long-term problems. There are two clear policy messages that emerge from this preventative agenda. The first is that the policy concerns with 'early intervention' that have emerged as part of the social inclusion policy agenda promoted through the targets set out in the *Opportunity for All* (see Appendix 1) and *Social Justice* (see Appendix 2) Annual Reports clearly illustrate a concern to interact with problems or potential problems at an early stage. This is evident through the range of targets in these annual reports that focus on the needs of young children, and those relating to educational attainment and transitions from school to employment. The second policy message is that, by addressing problems early and avoiding social exclusion occurring, the intention is to reduce the social and economic costs of social exclusion that relate to, amongst other things, unemployment, homelessness, drug misuse, poor health and anti-social behaviour (PAT 12 2000).

The discussion outlined in PAT 12 (2000) draws specific attention to Government concerns with both tackling the problematic aspects of youth and in so doing in the future aiming to take a preventative approach in order to avoid the continuation of the cycle of deprivation (Burden 2000). In taking this approach, there is clear concern to tackle the social costs of young people's exclusions at the individual, household and community level. Specifically, it is noted that there are costs associated with: young people not achieving their full potential; families having to deal to teenage pregnancy, school truancy or drug and alcohol misuse; and community tension over the problem nature of youth in relation to anti-social behaviour (see also PAT 8, 2000).

However, perhaps more important to the policy concern with early intervention, and tackling the exclusion of young people in particular, are the economic costs associated with this

phenomenon. These are noted in particular as relating to the cost of providing services to address needs related to this group e.g. homelessness and drug misuse services; as well as the costs to the wider community associated with benefit expenditure, costs of crime and foregone tax and National Insurance contributions from young people not being in employment. In addition, there are also concerns about the economic costs to wider society of offending (both in terms of the costs of damage or theft and the criminal justice services needed to address this behaviour), 'illegally earned income' and the need for alternative interventions to link excluded young people into mainstream social and economic activities (PAT 12 2000). Clearly then, the UK Government's policy agenda on youth inclusion is explicitly driven by a need to better manage this perceived problematic stage in life to avoid young people being a social and economic burden on society.

What is evident from this joint policy concern with deprived neighbourhoods and excluded young people is an agenda that explicitly aims to encourage an active role for excluded groups both at the neighbourhood level and more widely. This is framed within a context where there is an implicit moral agenda that identifies the tackling of the problematic aspects of social division as leading to a more cohesive society. Through this approach, it is clear that the policy agenda being taken forward is concerned to promote a rhetoric where individuals are expected to fulfil their duty to wider society within a framework of rights and responsibilities; as fits with Macmurray's perspective on communitarianism. However, the moral agenda taken forward in relation to the focus on young people in particular suggests a wish to manage the damaging social and economic effects of young people's actions; which suggests closer links to Etzioni's moral agenda on communitarianism that promotes social control as the vehicle for maintaining social order (Etzioni 1993).

To better understand the influence of this policy rhetoric on the practice of the case study SIPs, three research questions emerge from this discussion that are taken forward in later chapters. Firstly, Chapter 6 begins to unpack the policy influences emerging through the social inclusion agenda and how these have steered the priorities identified by the case study SIPs at the time of applying for funding. Chapter 7 then reflects on the practices that have emerged within the case study SIPs in promoting social inclusion. This chapter also reflects on the theoretical influences underpinning the approach taken by the case study SIPs to promote social inclusion, while specifically exploring whether the focus on young people taken forward within the case study SIPs is motivated by concerns with social justice or with maintaining social control over this group.

Conclusion

It has been argued in this chapter that the emerging interest in social inclusion within UK policy has been steered by a particularly British interpretation of the problems and the necessary responses to achieve social inclusion. This has been shown to relate in part to a concern with tackling poverty and low income through labour market participation, while linking this to more general concerns with promoting a more cohesive society through encouraging reciprocity by promoting an agenda on rights and responsibilities through encouraging 'active' roles for those currently 'excluded' from mainstream society. However, a more implicit element of the policy agenda on social exclusion is a concern to address the most problematic and costly aspects of exclusion relating to the concentrations of problems in deprived neighbourhoods and the problematic behaviour of young people. Indeed, the centrality of policy concern with young people that has emerged within this policy agenda provides clear articulation of the policy agenda on social exclusion as centring on addressing the problem behaviour of this group and the associated economic and social impact of this on wider society.

This debate on the UK policy interpretation of social inclusion has provided a conceptual framework through which to take forward reflections on the particular theoretical and policy influences steering the work of the case study SIPs. The comparison of area-based and thematic SIPs taken forward in this study therefore allows reflections on the relative importance on the problematic aspects of exclusion within these two types of SIP. In order to set this conceptual debate in the other relevant policy context, Chapter 3 turns attention to the agenda on urban policy that has led to the current programme around area-based and thematic SIPs; and through this reflects on the policy imperatives underpinning the agenda on urban policy as this is taken forward within SIPs.

Chapter 3: The Agenda on Urban Policy

Introduction

Having set out the wider context of emerging debates on social inclusion in Chapter 2, attention turns here to the urban policy context of this study. Since the introduction of urban policy programmes in the UK in the late 1960s, there have been significant changes in ideological and political positioning that have influenced the approach taken to address 'urban problems'. What this shows is that by the 1990s urban policy programmes were dominated by a concern with partnership working as the main vehicle for delivering local responses to urban deprivation. As such, the central aim of this chapter is to explore the policy developments that have emerged over time which have led to the current policy interest in partnership working as the principal operating tool for Social Inclusion Partnerships.

This chapter argues that the use of partnership approaches to address urban problems dates back to the 1970s in both England and Scotland. While there have been differences in the development of partnership approaches in both places, Scotland's policy commitment to partnership working formally emerged in the late 1980s with the introduction of New Life Partnerships, and rolled out with the introduction of Programme for Partnership in 1996. It is argued, therefore, that the introduction of the Social Inclusion Partnership programme is set within a particular historical context and represents the latest in a line of partnership based urban policy programmes, while being influenced by the cross-cutting policy interest in achieving 'social inclusion' as discussed in Chapter 2. With that in mind, it is argued that historical concerns with partnership as a vehicle for encouraging 'strategic working' and 'community involvement' remain central with the change from Programme for Partnership to Social Inclusion Partnerships. As such, the chapter ends by outlining the key debates relating to the current policy interest in partnership working, strategic working and community involvement and in so doing raises questions on these issues that are taken up in later data chapters.

The History of Urban Policy Programmes in the UK

It is common for debates on urban policy to start from the assumption that urban policy only refers to the specialist urban initiatives that were first introduced in the late 1960s to address the economic and social decline in urban areas (see, for example, Harrison 2000). While this focus on specialist urban policy initiatives is central to the discussion set out in this chapter, and indeed to the focus of this thesis as a whole, it is important to recognise the long history of urban policy measures that preceded this specialist policy programme. Blackman (1995), for

example, argues that urban policy has been a concern of politicians since industrialisation brought large numbers of people to live in towns and cities in the 19th century. The resultant shift in population, leading to increased population density within the emerging urban locations, highlighted a need for public responses to the social problems which were emerging in this context, including civic unrest, housing need, poverty and poor health (Hill 2000). As a result of this urbanisation, throughout the late 19th and early part of the 20th century a range of interventions were introduced to address the needs of urban areas, specifically focusing on improving education and health, while also addressing needs relating to housing and unemployment (Fraser 1984; Pacione 1997).

Further, in the post-1945 era, an extensive range of policy developments were undertaken to respond to the needs of post-war Britain (Blackman 1995). At that time, there was a particular focus on physical regeneration of urban areas through extensive house building, slum clearance and the development of industry and housing within 'new towns' (Atkinson & Moon 1984). By the late 1960s, Britain as a whole was enjoying economic prosperity and many of the post-war policy developments had been implemented. However, in that context there was a 'rediscovery of poverty' (Hill 2000) which brought with it a shift away from a policy concern with land-use planning, replaced by awareness of the particular experience of poverty and deprivation occurring with discrete urban areas (Atkinson 2000). That the policy concern was with poverty in relation to particular geographic areas was argued to be a result of awareness of linked social and economic disadvantage leading to multiple deprivation for people living in deprived areas (Lawless 1986).

Until this time, urban policy measures had been undertaken by focusing on individual policy issues in isolation. For example, education, health, transport, planning and housing were addressed within a departmentalised context, both at the national and local authority level (Pacione 1997). However, in the wake of this policy concern with inner city deprivation, a new set of urban policy programmes¹ were introduced that were intended to overcome the departmentalism of mainstream programmes by providing additional funding to local authorities to address the needs of deprived areas within their boundaries. The aim of this new programme budget was to allow local authorities to bid for access to an additional funding source that could be used to address a range of local needs not discretely related to a specific policy area (Atkinson 2000). The first funding round to develop in England was the Urban

¹ There have been various names given to the specialist targeting initiatives introduced to address urban decline and urban problems over the years including: 'urban policy', 'inner-city policy', 'urban regeneration' and 'urban renewal'. For the sake of clarity, I will talk about these initiatives generically as 'urban policy programmes'.

Programme (UP)², which began in 1968, while in Scotland the Urban Programme began in 1969. This discussion is not intended to offer a comprehensive account of the range of urban policy programmes that have been undertaken over the years, merely to illustrate the policy focus that emerged through this development.

The Development of the Urban Programme

The discussion that follows shows that the Urban Programme was developed in England as a specific response to an identified social phenomenon. Atkinson & Moon (1994) have identified three central reasons for the development of this programme at this point in history. Firstly, as was noted above, there was a policy concern with addressing localised deprivation. Consequently, there was a period where discussions took place inside central government on how to develop a more co-ordinated approach to meeting social need (Atkinson 2000). The development of the Urban Programme was, therefore, intended to acknowledge the need for cross-departmental thinking on localised deprivation, an approach that followed policy developments in the United States where their 'War on Poverty' had started in 1964 (Atkinson & Moon 1994; 37; see also Higgins 1978).

Secondly, the expansion in public services after 1945 meant that by the late 1960s there were growing concerns about the costs of providing public services (Blackman 1995). With 1967 bringing the first devaluing of Sterling since the war, there was a significant concern about the economy's ability to continue to expand to meet growing public demand for services. The development of the Urban Programme at this time was, therefore, seen as a cost-effective way of addressing localised need through 'supplementing' mainstream programmes and effectively using the UP funds to 'add on' resources to areas defined as having additional needs (Atkinson 2000) without further rolling out mainstream programmes across all areas.

The third motivation for the development of the Urban Programme at this time relates to the increased levels of immigration that had taken place throughout the 1950s and early 1960s in response to labour shortages in specific parts of the country. This led to a much greater presence of ethnic minorities, specifically within English cities. The introduction of the Urban Programme was, therefore, intended to address the social problems emerging as a result of tensions within ethnically diverse areas (Lawless 1986). Indeed, it is argued that: "[t]he spark that fired government action to tackle urban problems was Enoch Powell's 'rivers of blood' speech of 1968 in which he criticised the rate of immigration into Britain" (Pacione 1997; 24).

² It is worth noting however that as well as the Urban Programme there were also Community Development Projects and Educational Priority Areas that emerged in the late 1960s.

The Urban Programme, therefore, offered a response to the “racialization of British politics” (Atkinson 2000; 218). Further, the advantage of this approach was that it allowed policy to focus on addressing inner city need in relation to alleviating racial tension without specifically drawing attention to the fact that resources were being targeted towards ethnic minorities at a time when measures of this type would antagonise the majority of the electorate (Atkinson & Moon 1994).

In Scotland, there were two distinctive features of the Urban Programme as compared with the English programme, which are worth highlighting. Firstly, while there was a realisation that the same economic and political concern with limiting the growth in public spending in the late 1960s was evident in Scotland (Lloyd et al 2001), McCarthy (1999) argues that the approach that developed in Scotland was undertaken under a distinctly Scottish set of circumstances. In the main his argument is that, because Scotland is a much smaller area within which public services are managed and administered, there have been fewer problems with division between local and central government than has been presented as occurring in England. As such: “Scottish urban policy has displayed a distinctive approach within which policy formulation and implementation has been closely integrated” (McCarthy 1999; 561). McCrone (1991) similarly finds Scotland’s approach to urban policy to be better integrated than in England, while facing the same level of problems in some areas. That said, this does not suggest that there has been greater impact because of this integration of local and central government in Scotland, merely that there was not the same degree of isolation between them (McCrone 1991).

The second distinctive feature of Scottish urban policy in the late 1960s relates to the lack of a large ethnic minority population in Scotland. Thus, the concern with targeting localised areas of deprivation in order to focus attention on ethnic minorities was largely missing from the Scottish Urban Programme (McCormick & Leicester 1998). Rather the focus at that point was centrally on addressing ‘special need’ within deprived areas (Taylor 1998). With the exception of these distinctions, it is likely that the same issues of concern that motivated the introduction of the UP in England apply within the Scottish context; in particular that this funding initiative was used to offer an ‘add on’ provision to target the needs of deprived areas (Atkinson 2000).

Trends in Urban Policy Approaches

Since the introduction of the Urban Programme in the late 1960s there have been a number of changes to the approach that has been taken to address urban decline. These can be broadly categorised as relating to specific economic and political influences dominating at particular

periods in time. It is less important to highlight what the specific programme was that has been developed at a particular point in history than to point out the significant influences that have underpinned the approach taken. As such, the discussion that follows draws attention to the trends in policy across five time intervals: the late 1960s; the mid 1970s; the 1980s; the early 1990s; and post 1997. Later in this chapter, attention is given to a small number of key issues that have emerged as central to the focus of urban policy programmes in the 1990s which develop further ideas set out in this section. However, for now it is important to set this debate in its historical context.

The Late 1960s: a social pathology approach

While the earlier discussion on the introduction of the Urban Programme in England and Scotland highlighted the importance of targeting resources towards deprived areas in order to address the concerns with spatially concentrated deprivation, there are those that argue that what emerged at this time was a pathological view of those who were being targeted for interventions. As Atkinson & Moon (1994; 33) state in relation to the development of the Urban Programme in the late 1960s:

... given the far reaching nature of welfare state policies, the causes of any residual poverty had to be the 'pathological' behaviour of the people or communities who remained in poverty. This effectively directed attention away from systemic failures and structural inequalities and on to the more limited issue of how to deal with individuals/groups still in poverty. In effect, it became a question of how best to change peoples' behaviour.

The idea of a 'pathology' emerging within specific areas relates to two inter-related concepts. The first concerns the idea of a 'cycle of deprivation' within which children are argued to grow up in families and neighbourhoods with poor facilities, which then impacts on their schooling and subsequent job opportunities. The cyclical nature of this localised deprivation comes through this process trapping them in deprived areas and leads to the next generation growing up with the same limited opportunities (Cameron & Davoudi 1998). The second concept relates back to the notion of a 'culture of poverty' (Lewis 1998) where people living in deprived areas develop their own cultural values that are different from the dominant values of the society around them. The outcome from this is an alienation from the rest of society and behaviour that is costly to society as a whole, e.g. crime, vandalism, drug misuse and welfare dependence (Cameron & Davoudi 1998; Murray 1990)³.

³ It is worth noting that the original context of debates on an emerging 'cultural form' within urban areas was cited in American literature in the 1950s and 1960s (see Wilson 1987, Lewis 1998) as a way of highlighting a racial pathology, argued to relate to the large Black and Hispanic population in inner city neighbourhoods.

The concern with poverty and deprivation that emerged in the 1960s occurred within a context where most of the country was experiencing economic improvements (Atkinson & Moon 1994). As such, the emergence of spatial concentrations of deprivation during this phase arguably led to the belief that people themselves were responsible for their circumstances. As was noted in Chapter 2, this pathologising of social groups is a theme that reappears in policy at regular intervals, notably in the emergence of concern about the 'underclass' from the late 1980s onward (Wilson 1987, Murray 1990) and which arguably continues through the current policy focus on 'tackling social exclusion' (Levitas 1998).

The Mid 1970s: an economic crisis

In the 1970s, there was a shift away from this social pathology approach when attention turned to focus on the economic factors that cause deprivation at the local level. This was seen through increased attention being paid at this time to structural factors of economic disadvantage (Wilks-Heeg 2000). Within this period, there was concern about the economic changes emerging from the decline of manufacturing industries, which led to a policy focus on addressing the impact of this economic crisis on people living in deprived neighbourhoods (Cameron & Davoudi 1998).

The emergence of high levels of unemployment and inflation in the mid-1970s led to the first post-war 'crisis' in Britain's political and economic environment. The economic crisis that started in the mid-1970s was also to open the door to the first major challenge to the post-war collectivist state that had dominated in the UK since 1945. This challenge to collectivism was successfully led by the Conservative Party, who profiled the New Right ideology as centring on a minimal state, individual liberty, choice, the free market and entrepreneurial spirit (Deakin & Edwards 1993). These principles were introduced in order to address the concern with economic decline, but offered a new approach to policy that was to later to successfully taken forward under the Thatcher Governments.

The 1980s: an ideological shift

The ideological positioning of the Conservative Government, with their support for New Right thinking, cannot be under-estimated as an influence on the direction of policy from the late 1970s and through the 1980s. Indeed, as Parkinson (1998a) points out, the 1970s was an era where state control over developments was encouraged, and where the targeting of resources towards areas of deprivation was directly led by local authority activities. However, with the election of the Thatcher Government in 1979, the approach to urban policy was influenced by a new set of priorities, which Parkinson (1998a) outlines as follows:

- 'Urban entrepreneurialism' rather than state interventions.
- Developing physical rather than social (i.e. people) capital.
- Wealth creation alongside welfare delivery.
- National government leading on initiatives in place of local government.

The programmes developed through the 1980s built on this new approach through a return to property based and physical regeneration (Cameron & Davoudi 1998). Indeed, as Deakin & Edwards (1993) point out, the enterprise focus allowed a policy shift away from the promotion of public-sector management methods to instead encourage private sector management methods; perceived as a superior approach in terms of achieving efficient use of public resources (Deakin & Edwards 1993).

As a result of this enterprise focus, the first signs of the concern with a 'rolling back' of the state in favour of private involvement in regeneration was introduced in an attempt to reduce public spending (Parkinson 1998a; Geddes 1997). Three significant developments were cited as affecting urban policy programmes at this time:

- Active involvement of the private sector was encouraged through economic, social and environmental regeneration.
- By making urban areas attractive, private business was thought to bring 'trickle down' benefits such as job creation to deprived areas.
- The role of elected local government was reduced in favour of partnerships involving business leaders and government officials.

(Harding & Garside, cited in Geddes 1997)

The concern to move beyond state decision-making in favour of private sector involvement was part of the profile given to economic efficiency. In reality, urban policy programmes led by or actively involving the private sector did not emerge in any great number at that time. Thus, the likely benefit of 'trickle down' (even if this had been possible) was not evident in the majority of inner city and peripheral estates suffering from high levels of unemployment and disadvantage (Pacione 1997). In addition, there was recognition that in some deprived areas, levels of deprivation increased as a result of this policy focus reducing the role played by government in providing for the needs of deprived neighbourhoods (Silver & Wilkinson 1995).

The Early 1990s: a period of rationalisation

After Thatcher's focus on enterprise and physical regeneration in the 1980s, the election of John Major in 1990 led to a further change in approach. The principal issues that dominated

Major's approach to urban policy related to the need to rationalise the range of funding programmes that had emerged over the years. Specifically, there was a concern to tackle the perceived 'initiativitis' that had dominated urban policy programmes up to that time (Wilks-Heeg 2000). The publication of the Audit Commission report (1989) on urban regeneration and economic development was certainly one influence on the approach that was taken, given the concerns raised in this report on the lack of coherence in the urban policy initiatives, and highlighting a 'patchwork quilt' of initiatives that had emerged in the 1980s to address urban decline (Hill 2000). Thus, the key policy development at this time was to encourage greater linking up of programmes to more effectively tackle economic and social deprivation (Lawless & Robinson 2000).

The rationalisation that occurred at this time centred around three specific issues. Firstly, there was a shift away from an 'agency-type' model to a 'partnership-type' model, which was intended to shift responsibility for urban management to the local level (Tiesdell & Allmendinger 2001; 907). Secondly, the influence of the 'new public management' discourse (Walsh 1995) led to a concern with encouraging competitive bidding to assist with deciding who should get access to limited available urban policy programme funding. Through this approach, local partnerships were to compete with one another for a share of the available funding by setting out a business case for their planned activities (Turok & Hopkins 1998). Thirdly, there was also a concern with illustrating outputs from the work undertaken by urban policy programmes. The emergent 'audit culture' from this priority was also part of the 'new public management' approach developed at this time, and which has been important to policy since this time (Tiesdell & Allmendinger 2001).

1997 onwards: the social exclusion agenda

It has been argued that New Labour's urban policy focus has not offered significant changes to the policy approach introduced by John Major in the early 1990s (Geddes 2001). This is particularly relevant when considering the main themes highlighted above relating to partnership working, competitive bidding and promoting an output focus; all of which will be shown later to be continued themes under the current policy focus in Scotland.

However, while this continuation of a previous policy focus is in many ways true, the discussion on the influence of debates on social exclusion outlined in Chapter 2 suggests further developments in the policy approach. Notably, the concern with ensuring that resources are targeted towards those in greatest need, both in relation to areas of deprivation and excluded groups, is one element of the New Labour approach that has gained a high profile in the policy developments taken forward by the current UK Government (Tiesdell &

Allmendinger 2001). Secondly, there is a greater focus on building up the evidence base around the position of deprived areas. In particular, there has been a drive to increase the localised statistical information that is available and which can be used to provide a baseline position from which to identify where particular problems lie, while also providing a tool that allows assessment of change over time (PAT 18 2000). These priorities clearly build on policy priorities relating to new public management priorities by focusing on efficient use of resources through the concern with targeting towards those in greatest need and auditing change through monitoring frameworks.

This brief summary of the history of the historical influences on urban policy programmes between the late 1960s and the late 1990s was presented in order to show the main issues that have dominated policy at particular times. This is intended to provide the backdrop to taking forward more detailed discussions on the main issues of concern within urban policy programmes in Scotland, which it will be shown, are clearly influenced by many of these historical trends. In particular, the development of the partnership focus that now dominates urban policy programmes, both in Scotland and in the UK more generally, is shown below to have emerged in response to the political and economic influences outlined above.

The Emergence of Partnership Working

Given that the initial motivation for developing a funding stream to tackle urban problems in the late 1960s was to encourage cross-department working within local authorities to meet local need, there has always been an implicit partnership focus within urban policy programmes. At that early stage, however, the focus was on encouraging cross-departmental working within local authorities. It was not until the late 1970s that formal partnership working was first seen in English policy through the publication of the 1977 White Paper: *A Policy for Inner Cities*⁴. The aim of this policy initiative was to encourage greater levels of co-ordination between local and central government (Lawless 1986). With the introduction of Urban Programme funding, central government was cast in the role of funder, while local authorities and voluntary organisations were recipients of funding. The focus of the White Paper was to encourage effective alliances between central government and local service providers through partnership arrangements, which was to offer a more formal decision-making structure (Deakin & Edwards 1993).

⁴ The White Paper on 'Policy for Inner Cities' focused on the policy position in England & Wales, so did not include Scotland.

While not covered by the formal policy framework of *Policy for Inner Cities*, in Scotland the first partnership initiative to tackle urban decline also emerged in the 1970s. The Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (GEAR) scheme was set up in 1976 by the Secretary of State for Scotland in response to similar concerns to encourage integration between local and central government. Through GEAR, a range of agencies were brought together⁵ to tackle the problems affecting deprived areas in the city (Lawless 1986). While GEAR represents a significant partnership development in Scotland, unlike the 1977 White Paper in England, the GEAR initiative was not set in a legal framework. Consequently, Scotland did not have a formal agenda on promoting partnership working as a route to tackle urban decline, as was evident in England at that time (Bailey et al 1995).

As was noted earlier, the election of the Conservative Government in 1979 shifted the focus of urban policy towards the involvement of private business in the regeneration of urban areas. With this focus on physical regeneration in England, the 'enterprise culture' dominating in the 1980s meant a shift away from the public sector as being the most effective body for delivering change. Within that ideological position, it was thought that there would be a move away from the policy agenda on partnership working, it having been introduced by a Labour administration. In fact, the partnership agenda continued, albeit that it assumed the characteristics of the ideological framework of the New Right (Bailey et al 1995). The most notable development was a shift away from direct relationships between local and central government, as had been advocated through the Inner Cities White Paper (Lawless 1986). This meant in practice that power was shifted towards the centre, where control of finance was located, and with this, spending decisions were shifted away from local authorities. Instead, urban policy programmes promoted the allocation of funding to a wider range of stakeholders, including the voluntary sector and private industry (Wilks-Heeg 2000).

By the late 1980s, the concern with partnership working was embedding into urban policy thinking and involved a wide range of different stakeholders, including central and local government, other public agencies⁶, the private sector, voluntary sector and community groups. However, there were different applications of the practice of partnership between Scotland and England (Bailey et al 1995). For example, in England, Ministers promoted

⁵ The agencies involved were: the Scottish Office, Scottish Development Agency (economic development company), Scottish Special Housing Association, Strathclyde Regional Council and Glasgow District Council (representing the two layers of local government in Scotland at that time).

⁶ This refers to quangos and Executive agencies such as the Manpower Services Commission and Local Enterprise Companies.

partnership working as the principal means of regenerating deprived urban areas. In application, however, partnership was seen to be fragmented, exclusionary, biased towards particular sectoral interests and increasingly used as a 'smokescreen' for the centralisation of power and the reduction of local authority control (Bailey et al 1995). In Scotland, however, the more informal partnership arrangements that had emerged, in particular GEAR, had been much more successful at co-ordinating local activity (Lawless 1986).

The development of *New Life for Urban Scotland* Partnerships from the late 1980s was the first formalised partnership based urban policy programme to emerge in Scotland. Using a partnership arrangement led by the Scottish Office, the New Life Partnerships involved a range of stakeholders at the local level including local government, other public agencies, the private sector, voluntary sector and community groups. The aim was that these Partnerships would work to address a range of localised problems including: unemployment, educational attainment levels, housing choice and localised crime (Bailey et al 1995). Of course, this partnership initiative has also had its critics, with evaluators highlighting the limits of this programme, in particular relating to the lack of evidence of long term sustainability of the measures implemented (see, for example, Cambridge Policy Consultants 1999; Cambridge Economic Consultants 2001).

Urban Policy in Scotland: the introduction of partnership working

The approach to urban regeneration introduced with the New Life Partnerships in the late 1980s brought with it a shift in thinking in Scottish urban policy. The partnership approach adopted through *New Life* Partnerships was thought to offer a number of specific benefits. As the Scottish Office (1993; 1) illustrated, the main objective of this approach was:

... to pursue a comprehensive, co-ordinated, long-term, strategic approach⁷ to regeneration, harnessing the resources of the public and private sectors and local communities.

In 1993, a review of urban policy in Scotland was undertaken, in part to offer the first formal assessment of the progress made by the New Life Partnerships, while also offering the first chance to reflect on how best to use available urban funding in a more strategic way to target those areas in greatest need (Bailey et al 1995). As Bailey et al (1995; 71) state:

This... marks an important advance in the development of the partnership concept in that, although its starting point is the acceptance of integrated, comprehensive and multi-sectoral approaches to urban

⁷ The concept of a 'strategic approach' emerged in policy at this time without any specific clarification of what was meant by this term. Later discussions in this chapter will reflect further on the potential meanings associated with this term.

deprivation, it looks forward to how limited resources might be used strategically to achieve maximum impact in areas of greatest deprivation.

Clearly then, this was intended to be a time of extensive change within Scottish urban policy. With the exception of the piloting of the four New Life Partnerships, urban policy in Scotland had not changed significantly since the introduction of the Urban Programme in the late 1960s. The main vehicle for accessing urban policy programme funds remained with local authorities applying directly to the Scottish Office for a share of the urban programme fund to support local projects⁸. Thus the 1993 review of urban policy offered the first significant change to the approach taken, and culminated in the introduction of *Programme for Partnership* (PfP) from 1996.

With this change in approach, PfP meant a formal rolling out of a partnership approach within urban policy programmes in Scotland. The most significant change introduced with this initiative was that, instead of a year round open application within which local authorities could apply directly to the Scottish Office for funding for specialist initiatives, Programme for Partnership involved locally based partnerships applying for a share of the overall Urban Programme budget that could then be used to fund a range of locally based projects depending on local need. Through this change of approach, there was to be a greater targeting of the limited Urban Programme budget towards those areas as in greatest need (Scottish Office 1996a). In addition, responsibility for decision-making about which local projects to fund was also to be moved from central government to these locally based partnerships (Turok & Hopkins 1997).

In keeping with the new public management discourse of the day, the decision over which areas should get a share of the PfP budget involved a competitive bidding process, which was intended to encourage local authority led partnerships to put together a business case for getting a share of the budget to create Priority Partnership Areas (PPAs). The bidding process allowed successful Partnerships to access a block of the Urban Programme budget for a period of years (in practice either for five or for ten years) to allow the development of a co-ordinated long-term programme of change to address local deprivation. In an attempt to compensate to some extent for this targeting approach, a proportion of the Urban Programme budget was set aside to allow local authorities to apply for Regeneration Programme (RP)

⁸ I will refer to 'projects' and 'project funding' throughout the thesis when referring to specialist service provisions that are not part of mainstream service delivery and where funding is short term.

funding⁹ in place of not gaining funding under PPA. RPs, unlike PPAs, did not have to involve locally based partnerships, but merely required local authorities to provide evidence that there were deprived urban neighbourhoods within their boundaries that would benefit from this funding source (Scottish Office 1996a). The central criticism of the introduction of the competitive bidding process is the emergence of ‘winners’ and ‘losers’, with some areas gaining significant resources and others losing a previously valuable source of additional income (see Turok & Hopkins 1997 for a critique of this approach in Scotland).

Three key developments dominated the partnership approach introduced with New Life Partnerships and rolled out through Programme for Partnership. Firstly, there was a central focus on encouraging a wide range of stakeholders to work together at the local level, including core service providers, the private sector, voluntary sector and community representatives (Scottish Office 1989). Through this approach, local stakeholders were to bring together their shared concern with regenerating the local area (Scottish Office 1996b) in order to better co-ordinate local activities. Given the role of local authorities as lead partners in PPAs, while also being responsible for managing RP activities within their local authority area, there was also an attempt to encourage co-ordination between local authority level and neighbourhood level activities. Further, by working together, Partnerships were also to offer an opportunity for individual partner activities to be co-ordinated to better meet local need. Thus, these partnerships were intended to perform a ‘gap filling’ and co-ordinating role at the local level (Scottish Office 1996b).

Secondly, as part of the application for funding, both PPAs and RPs were to develop and submit ‘regeneration strategies’ relating to the areas targeted. These strategies were to “set out a comprehensive and co-ordinated approach to regeneration of deprived areas” (Scottish Office 1996b; 8) which would involve the Partnerships presenting the following information when applying for funding:

- a vision statement and key priorities for action;
- the partners represented, including community members
- an analysis of the local economic, social and physical problems creating urban decline;
- the proposed programme or work to be undertaken through the PPA/RP activities;
- how the partnership would link in with other regeneration activity being taken forward by partners and others;

⁹ When PfP was introduced, 80% of the Urban Programme budget went to the 12 Priority Partnership Areas while the remaining 20% of the budget was allocated to the 9 Regeneration Programme areas (Turok & Hopkins 1997).

- the plans made to undertake monitoring and evaluation of activities.

(Scottish Office 1996a)

The main message from the introduction of PfP is that Partnerships were to explicitly illustrate a coherent strategy for achieving change through working in partnership in return for gaining access to funding (Geddes 1997). This suggests that a contract is created between the Scottish Office as funder and those Partnerships that have set out a programme of work using Scottish Office resources (Hutchinson 2001).

The third development that emerged with Programme for Partnership relates to the outcome focus promoted. What emerged as central to the PfP approach was the introduction of annual reporting mechanisms based on the activities of the Partnerships over the previous year. Within these, evidence of resource inputs, outputs, and longer-term outcomes, as well as stakeholder involvement in the Partnerships was to be reported in order to allow the Scottish Office to assess the level of impact made. This concern with 'auditing' Partnerships conforms to similar trends occurring within English urban policy programmes such as City Challenge. The difficulty with this approach occurs when the needs of the neighbourhood are superseded by the need to be seen to be achieving measurable impacts quickly and this becomes the driving force of the Partnership's work (Tiesdell & Allmendinger 2001). Clearly then, the same management ethos dominant within English urban policy was evident within Scottish policy with the introduction of partnership based urban policy programmes. The extent to which this approach has been continued through the development of the Social Inclusion Partnership approach is now considered.

Urban Policy in Scotland Post-1997

It was argued earlier that significant aspects of the policy approach introduced by John Major in the early 1990s have been continued within New Labour's approach to urban policy. The above discussion of the key developments within the PfP initiative therefore remain central to the approach to urban policy promoted in Scotland since New Labour came to power. In particular, the change from Programme for Partnership to Social Inclusion Partnerships¹⁰ (SIPs) from April 1999 has maintained concern with:

- competitive bidding for a share of the total SIP fund;
- promoting a partnership approach to co-ordinate local activities;

¹⁰ Chapter 5 provides an account of the number of SIPs, their location, funding and thematic focus with the change from PfP to SIPs.

- promoting community involvement within partnership decision-making;
- outlining a strategy for action when applying for funding; and
- a concern with assessing outputs from these Partnerships. (Scottish Office 1998d)

However, while there has been a continuation of this overarching policy focus, there have also been new developments introduced with this programme.

Firstly, the introduction of a policy concern with ‘social inclusion’ in Scotland (see Chapter 2) meant that the announcement of the introduction of Social Inclusion Partnerships (SIPs) was framed within this policy context, with SIPs identified as: ‘new partnerships to promote social inclusion’ (Scottish Office 1998a). Indeed, it is stated that SIPs were to:

“... bring together the three principles that inform the Government’s approach to social exclusion: the need for a co-ordinated approach; to tackle prevention of exclusion, as well as exclusion itself; and to demonstrate innovation” (Scottish Office 1998d)

Social Inclusion Partnerships were, therefore, to perform a specific role within the overall social exclusion agenda by co-ordinating local activities, through a preventative approach that focuses on promoting innovation (Scottish Office 1998a).

Secondly, Donald Dewar announced that the introduction of the SIP fund was to address some of most problematic elements of the PfP approach. Specifically, there was an announcement that all PfP initiatives would continue to receive their funding until the end of their allotted life cycle¹¹ on agreement of conversion to SIP status¹², while there was also to be a competition to invite new SIPs to apply for funding (Scottish Office 1998a). As the list of Partnerships outlined in Appendix 3 shows, the 21 ex-PPA and ex-RPs continued to gain funding upon conversion to SIP status, while a further 26 new SIPs also gained funding at this time. The criticisms levelled at the competitive bidding process for its lack of openness and emphasis on quality of applications, rather than level of local need (Turok & Hopkins 1997), led to Donald Dewar announcing that a new index of urban deprivation would be commissioned that would inform the selection of new Partnership areas (Scottish Office 1998a). Thus, there was an attempt to more explicitly frame the competitive bidding process within a context where the quality of the application for funding and the level of need were both considered in the application process, while at the same time rolling out the number of Partnerships gaining access to funding.

¹¹ This was five years for RPs and ten years for PPAs, all starting in 1996.

¹² In practice this meant that ex- Pfp initiatives were to outline, in the same way as new SIPs, their ability to work to the social inclusion agenda by promoting co-ordination, prevention and innovation (Scottish Office 1998d).

In addition to these developments, three further issues emerged as explicit policy priorities with the introduction of the SIP programme:

- Promoting the ‘levering’ of resources towards the priorities of the SIP (Scottish Executive 1999b).
- Collecting localised statistics to measure change in key policy areas over the life of the SIPs (Scottish Executive 1999b).
- A widening of the targeting agenda to tackle both area-based deprivation and the social exclusion facing particular social groups.

Each of these points requires further discussion to understand their relevance to the policy position developed with SIPs. Looking firstly at the idea of ‘levering’ outlined above, there are three potential ways of understanding this policy agenda as relating to ‘levering’, ‘pooling’ and ‘bending’ of resources. With regard to *levering*, the focus is on bringing additional resources from specialist sources to the priority area/group targeted by the SIP, for example National Lottery funding and European Structural Funds. *Pooling*, on the other hand, alludes to the policy concern with co-ordinating partners’ resources to effectively target need. Through this approach there is not any additional funding made available, merely a linking up of the budgets of partners. *Bending* illustrates the third approach, which focuses on encouraging partners to bring additional resources to the partnership priorities (Scottish Office 1998f). However, a lack of clarity within the policy documentation on this subject has led to some confusion over which of these priorities it is that is central to the policy focus. For example, the SIP guidelines on monitoring and evaluation (Scottish Executive 1999b) state: “SIPs are expected to use their funding to lever in mainstream funding and resources from other sources” (p.v). What this means in terms of either where resources are to be ‘levered’ from or what aspect of leveraging is to be prioritised e.g. from mainstream resources of agencies or from other specialist resources, is not clear. Further, the guidance of applying for SIP funding also states a commitment to ‘bending’ of resources towards the SIP priorities (Scottish Office 1998f) without any clarification of the sources from which bending is to occur. The way that this policy imperative is understood and implemented through the work of the case study SIPs is, therefore, considered further in Chapter 8 when reviewing the strategic working approach of the case study SIPs.

Secondly, as was noted earlier, the collection of localised statistics has emerged as a particular concern under New Labour through the focus on building up an evidence base upon which to assess the impact of policies. As part of this process, with the introduction of SIPs, the Scottish Executive imposed on all area-based SIPs a requirement that they collect localised statistics relating to a range of ‘compulsory indicators’; a list of which is outlined in Appendix

4 (Scottish Executive 1999b). The list indicates that monitoring of a wide range of social and economic issues was to be undertaken by SIPs. As part of the annual reporting mechanism, area-based SIPs were to report progress made in relation to these indicators, while thematic SIPs, as a result of their lack of geographic focus, were only expected to collect 'appropriate statistics'¹³ (Scottish Office 1999c). The introduction of the Social Justice targets in November 1999 further (see Appendix 2 for details) confirms the concern with measuring impact from policy programmes. However, the Social Justice targets are intended to be achieving using a wider range of policy instruments, including mainstream programmes, SIPs and other specialist initiatives. Measurement of the impact made in working towards these targets is set out in the Social Justice Annual Reports, based on statistical data collected by the Scottish Executive (see, for example, Scottish Executive 2001).

Finally, the most significant development with the introduction of the SIP agenda has been a widening of the targeting approach to move beyond focusing only on areas of urban deprivation to also tackle social exclusion within rural/coalfield communities and exclusion faced by particular groups. This is a significant shift in focus from a programme that for thirty years had concentrated on decline and deprivation within deprived urban areas (Carley 2000). The Minister for Area Regeneration, Calum McDonald, in 1998 explains the motivation for this change in focus:

When we announced our intention to designate new Social Inclusion Partnerships, we recognised that social exclusion blights the lives of many people across Scotland – from multiply deprived urban areas to fragile rural communities, former coal-mining areas and specific excluded groups. We are therefore determined that these new partnerships should tackle social exclusion wherever and in whatever form it exists. (Scottish Office 1998c)

The invitation to new applicants to apply for SIP funding, therefore, widened the targeting approach to acknowledge different geographical levels at which deprivation occurs, as well as recognising that there were groups not concentrated in deprived areas who nonetheless face social exclusion. The changes in the policy focus taken with the introduction of the SIP programme in practice are considered further in Chapter 4; where the location, funding distribution and thematic priorities of new and converted SIPs are reviewed in detail.

This review of the shifting policy trends in changing from PfP to SIPs illustrates that the SIP programme builds on previous urban policy initiatives while adding a specific policy perspective influenced by the concern with social inclusion. In particular the concerns with

¹³ As noted in Chapter 5, thematic SIPs generally work at the local authority level rather than the neighbourhood level; consequently, in practice most thematic SIPs are exempt from collecting localised statistics.

promoting partnership working as a vehicle for promoting community involvement, while also promoting strategic working remain central policy concerns within the SIP programme. That the policy programme that has emerged under New Labour has extended the policy commitment to also focus on better co-ordination of resources and improvements in data collection at the local level to better measure impact merely serves to develop rather than change the previous policy focus.

It is the use of this funding source to target resources towards excluded groups and rural areas, in addition to the traditional focus on urban deprivation, that illustrate the most fundamental change in policy with the introduction of the SIP programme; which also explains its centrality to this study. Beyond this particular development, on-going concerns with using urban policy programmes to promote partnership working, strategic working and community involvement remain central to this policy programme. As such, attention now turns in this final section of this chapter to the debates emerging around these three issues in order to reflect on their potential influence in relation to the development of area-based and thematic SIPs.

Key Policy Trends within SIPs

Literature on these issues has concentrated on the potential influence of these policy priorities in relation to area-based initiatives. The introduction of concern with thematic groups as well as areas of deprivation, therefore, has implications for understanding the policy concern with partnership working, strategic working and with community involvement. By reflecting on the main issues that have emerged in relation to these three themes, this section offers a chance to consider questions of relevance to this study that are taken up in later discussions on the practice of the case study SIPs.

Promoting Partnership Working

Debates on the meaning of 'partnership' highlight a fundamental distinction between partnership as an organisational setting or alternatively as a process of working (Edwards et al 2002). While SIPs in themselves clearly represent partnership as an organisational setting, it is the processes of partnership working that are of interest to this debate. The reasons that partnership working is promoted within an urban policy context are thought to relate to a range of factors. Firstly, partnerships offer a vehicle through which to find solutions to complex local problems (Geddes 1997) through involving a wide range of stakeholders within local decision-making (Bailey et al 1995), not the least of which is to facilitate a role for the local community in this setting (McArthur et al 1996). Secondly, partnership fits within the

increasingly marketised state system that promotes quasi-state agencies (e.g. quangos) rather than local government as the main vehicle for service delivery at the local level (Geddes 1997). This is part of an overarching political shift since the late 1970s, where partnership offers one route through which to challenge local authority control over local decision-making (Hastings 1996). Thirdly, partnership working is thought to fit within the current governance framework that has seen greater pluralism within service delivery between state, quasi-state, voluntary sector and private sector providers (Geddes & Le Gales 2001).

Thus, there are a range of political and policy imperatives that underpin the commitment to promoting partnership working as the route through which to achieve change at the local level. However, reviews and analysis of partnership working have raised a similar number of criticisms of this approach to working as the gains outlined above (see, for example, Carley et al 2000, Mayo & Taylor 2001). Most notably, partnership working brings with it potential for: conflict between partners (McArthur et al 1996); power imbalances between partners (Hastings 1996, Mayo & Taylor 2001); difficulties with establishing where responsibility lies (Kearns & Turok 2000); and differing expectations of partners of the gains to be made from working in partnership (Hastings et al 1996). Arguably, these challenges to partnership working suggest difficulties that can limit the practice of partnership working, regardless of the policy commitment to this form of working (Balloch & Taylor 2001).

Perhaps more fundamental to understanding the drivers for promoting partnership working as the route through which to address localised deprivation has been the criticisms levelled at government for introducing this approach. One element of this was highlighted by Hastings (1996) who argued that the approach taken within Scottish policy to promote partnership working has historically involved government promoting partnership working in order to gain the benefits of local stakeholders working together while not making any explicit attempt to change the organisational arrangements of individual partners. Thus, the view is that improvements can be achieved by introducing partnership frameworks without any direct policy interventions to change the way that specific organisations work. Further, the introduction of locally based partnerships to deliver change suggests that responsibility for achieving change becomes a local issue to be dealt with by a range of stakeholders at the local level (Taylor 1997). However, that local problems emerge within a wider socio-economic context and that central government plays such a strong role in steering the policy agenda that is taken forward within partnership settings, highlights difficulties with identifying the real gains that can be made from these forms of partnership. With the development of both thematic and area-based SIPs, the same issues in terms of the potential and challenges of

partnership working are likely to remain, given that partnership working, whether at neighbourhood or wider levels, involves the same processes of working. The questions this raises relate to the particular contribution made by these two types of SIP with regard to the specific benefits and challenges that emerge within these contexts as a result of differences in membership of these types of SIP. These questions are taken forward in the discussions presented in Chapter 9.

Strategic Working

As was noted earlier in relation to the policy commitment to strategic working, what emerges is an ambiguity in understanding of what this policy agenda is intended to convey. To illustrate, it was noted earlier in this chapter that the introduction of partnership approaches in Scotland was underpinned by a concern to encourage a strategic approach through co-ordinating partners and encouraging a comprehensive approach to working. However, in practice, the agenda on strategic working has emerged quite differently, with urban policy partnerships expected to outline a strategy for action within a traditional linear policy cycle where priority setting, implementation and evaluation follow on from each other (Hogwood & Gunn 1984). The stages in this linear model are outlined as follows:

Aims → Vision → Identifying Problems & Opportunities → Defining Objectives → Assessing Resources & Capabilities → Developing an Operational Plan → Taking Action → Monitoring & Evaluation of Progress → Revisiting Aims, Vision etc. (Dean et al 1999)

This focus suggests that a strategic approach implies a practical tool for working, with Partnerships promoting a 'rational model' of working (Dean et al 1999) through the setting out of aims and objectives before moving through the relevant stages to work towards achieve these goals. Thus, by setting out a strategic plan, Partnerships are promoting a 'strategic direction' for their work (Dean et al 1999).

While this offers one way of thinking about strategic working, it does not explicitly engage with the more intangible ideas related to co-ordinating partners or resources; ideas that were implied as of relevance to the initial policy concern with promoting partnership working when this term was first coined at the time of introducing the New Life Partnerships. Within this conception of strategic working, Healey (1997) suggests that the principal objective is to promote 'sustainability' of the activities undertaken in partnership. In so doing, there should be attention paid to encouraging an understanding of the framework within which (urban) policy takes place, including the policy process, who gets involved, and how, and the institutional conditions for achieving inter-related objectives at the local level (Healey 1995;

Thake 1995). As compared with the 'strategic planning model' outlined above, this view of strategic working focuses more on the way that Partnerships work, rather than the specific plan of action developed and implemented within the Partnership.

Through this perspective, the key issues of importance for achieving sustainability relate to the involvement of a range of stakeholders in the process of change, thus bringing a long-term commitment from public agencies and community members in order to 'build capacity' at the local level (Wilks-Heeg 2000). It is argued that capacity building as a goal of partnerships is strongly co-related to institutional capacity to work to a shared agenda, facilitated by internal factors such as shared values and external factors relating to a style of government that rewards joint working (Wenban-Smith 2002).

In addition, the agenda on sustainability as a strategic objective also highlights the need to link the activities of partnerships into the wider policy and practice developments occurring at the local and regional level (Carley & Kirk 1998). This external 'networking'¹⁴ function promotes the building of alliances between external organisations (Joyce 2000) and through this creating 'inter-organisational co-operation' (Reid 1999; 132). According to Reid (1999), this approach suggests the creation of 'strategic alliances' through which there can be sharing of programme developments and knowledge. This issue fits within a policy context where partnership working is promoted in order to encourage partners to work together to better use increasingly restricted state finance (Lambert & Oatley 2002). In terms of external networking, this implies a motivation for working with others is to access additional resources.

In relation to the work of the case study SIPs, this concern with strategic working raises fundamental questions about the way that this agenda is promoted within area-based and thematic SIPs. Firstly, there are questions about the way that these two forms of SIP may go about addressing this policy priority of strategic working and, within this, the extent to which the wider concerns with sustainability and networking with external organisations are relevant to the programme of work that is taken forward by these two forms of SIP. These issues are considered further in the discussion presented in Chapter 8.

Community Involvement

The final issue of interest that emerges from the policy concern with partnership working is the commitment to community involvement. Throughout the 1990s, the promotion of

¹⁴ 'network' is used here simply to imply relations between groups rather than any formally defined 'network theory' (see Stewart 2002 for more on networking within governance arrangements).

partnership working has highlighted the need to encourage the involvement of communities as a key stakeholder at the local level (Hall & Mawson 1999). This 'turn to community' (Duffy & Hutchinson 1997) means that local people are encouraged to work in partnership with public sector, voluntary sector and private sector partners to tackle local problems (Bricknell 2000). While not a new policy focus under New Labour, the commitment to community involvement is further reinforced through the promotion of a 'collaborative discourse' (Foley & Martin 2000), which explicitly promotes the building of relationships between state and civil society as part of the communitarian agenda.

As Mayo & Taylor (2001; 40) argue, this focus on community brings with it a suggestion that people are viewed as active agents in the process of change:

The case for partnership working has been developed, at least in part, within the context of strategies to counter bureaucratic and professional power. The aim is to reduce excessive 'producer' power by sharing or giving power to communities.

The notion of 'community empowerment' (Mayo & Taylor 2001) that is raised in this perspective, may be the ideal motivating factor in the policy commitment to promoting community involvement within local partnerships. However, the agenda on community involvement that has emerged is one that has left unspoken issues of power that structure relations between community and other partners (Hastings 1996), as well as between different levels of government and between different agencies (Robertson 2001). A number of writers take up this debate on the difficulties with achieving 'community empowerment', (see, for example, Carley 1995; Atkinson & Lejeune 2001; Mayo & Taylor 2001). Fundamental to the issues that emerge within this debate is that, while there is much work done to involve the community, the focus is one that promotes community presence within predefined objectives, rather than giving communities a significant influencing role over the development of priorities for action (Cameron & Davoudi 1998). Thus, if community empowerment is the intended aim of community involvement in partnerships, it is argued that the current framework does not allow this to happen:

Partnership at best attempts to reconcile irreconcilables and at worst, which means usually in practice, offers the objects of policy, at the very most, some role in implementation of strategies that have already been decided on (Byrne 1999; 256).

That said, there is recognition of the value of having community members as partners within urban policy partnerships (see, for example, Chapman et al 2001, McArthur 1995). McArthur (1995; 70) in particular argues that: "community involvement is broadening the agendas for strategic discussion and exerting pressure on external agencies for resources" which suggests a valuable role for this group, even if real power-holding is unlikely to be achieved. Further,

Lloyd & McCarthy (1999; 810) point out that, within Scotland, the Urban Programme took a particularly 'bottom-up' approach in the development, resourcing and selection of projects, with the community playing a role in planning and implementing local projects. Clearly then there is a positive contribution to be made from facilitating community involvement in partnership settings. However, this occurs within a context where this group face constraints relating to unequal power, access to decision-making structures and 'clashes of culture' (Duffy & Hutchinson 1997) which limit their potential influence within this setting.

The policy commitment to community involvement has further come under attack for its lack of recognition of the heterogeneity of 'the community', both in relation to the different spatial levels at which community can be identified and regarding the groups to whom it refers (Hayton 1996). While the policy rhetoric on 'community' tends to focus on deprived neighbourhoods and adults within that setting, Chapter 2 highlighted that the advent of a policy commitment to achieving social inclusion has brought to the fore concerns with people both within and beyond deprived neighbourhoods. Thus, the emergence of a policy commitment to tackling the needs of deprived areas and excluded groups suggests a need to acknowledge the involvement of both 'communities of place' and 'communities of interest' (Hill 2000) within the decision-making structures of SIPs.

The current policy focus on young people that has emerged as part of the social inclusion agenda brings to the fore issues relating to the involvement of young people within the work of area-based and thematic SIPs. Previous research that has focused on the involvement of young people within local decision-making settings has highlighted the potential of this activity in terms of the opportunities afforded to allow young people to feed their views into local planning and to gain from contributing in this way (see, for example, Geddes & Rust 2000; Matthews 2001). Indeed, it has been argued elsewhere that many of the same issues with regard to the potential benefits and challenges faced by adult community members when participating in partnership settings are of relevance to the experience of youth involvement (Matthews et al 1998).

However, while this may be true, there are also likely to be issues regarding the promotion of youth involvement that are particular to the experience of young people. For example, it has been noted in previous research that the motivation for involving young people in local decision-making settings is intended to promote their 'future citizenship' role through linking young people into current developments that they will play a part in sustaining over the long term (Fitzpatrick et al 1998). This motivation for involvement potentially supersedes the contribution that young people can make in their current role as young people with a

particular stakeholder perspective to bring to bear on the delivery of services (Prout 2000). Further, it may be argued that this focus is intended to impose adult controls over young people to limit their problem status (Fitzpatrick et al 2000). Thus, in relation to the involvement of young people within partnership settings, a more complex picture of the motivations for involvement emerges than in relation to adult community members. In addition, the particular context of thematic and area-based SIPs raises questions on the potential for differences in approach to youth involvement as a result of the different spatial scale of the SIP and the potentially different ways that involvement might be promoted within these settings. These questions are taken forward in the discussions presented in Chapter 10.

Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter has offered a picture of the main historical trends in urban policy programmes since their introduction in the late 1960s, in particular relating to the shifting political, economic and ideological influences that have dominated the approach taken at different periods in time. With that historical context in place, further discussion was presented on the emergence of partnership working as the principal framework within which urban policy programmes have been developed in Scotland since the late 1980s. In presenting this information, it was argued that the programme rolled out through Programme for Partnership highlighted a number of policy priorities influenced by the new public management ethos, notably relating to promoting an output focus and encouraging competitive bidding for funding. The principal objectives underpinning Programme for Partnership were shown to have been maintained with the introduction of the Social Inclusion Partnership programme, albeit that the influence of the social inclusion policy approach is also evident. In particular, the introduction of both area-based and thematic SIPs suggests a new phase in urban policy in Scotland involving the targeting of resources towards excluded groups as well as deprived areas. Discussions in Chapter 4 take forward further details on the trends that have emerged in practice through this policy development.

From this general overview of the main trends in urban policy programmes, three themes emerge as relevant to comparing the policy programme implemented through area-based and thematic SIPs. Firstly, partnership working as a process through which stakeholders are encouraged to work together raises questions about the benefits and challenges that emerge from this approach to working. Secondly, the policy commitment to strategic working raises questions both on how the policy commitment is understood within SIPs and on how SIPs are working towards achieving a strategic approach through their working practices. Finally, the central policy commitment to community involvement within partnership settings raises

questions about how the current policy focus on young people promoted through SIPs leads to involvement of young people within the case study SIPs. These questions are explored further in later data chapters when analysing the practices of the case study SIPs. However, in order to inform that discussion and to expand on the development of the SIP programme as this has emerged in practice, Chapter 4 now presents analysis of the developments that have emerged since the introduction of the SIP programme since April 1999.

Chapter 4: The Development of Social Inclusion Partnerships

Introduction

Having in Chapters 2 and 3 presented evidence of the theoretical and policy context within which this study took place, here evidence is presented on the developments that have emerged with the introduction of the SIP programme since April 1999. This chapter provides the first set of data analysis relating to the overarching SIP programme; from which the selection of the case study SIPs occurred (discussed further in Chapter 5). The aim of this chapter then is to present data on the SIP programme as this emerged after its introduction and through this to reflect on the shifts in priorities with the widening of the targeting approach beyond areas of urban deprivation. Data presented in this chapter is taken from unpublished data provided by the Scottish Executive relating to the priorities and funding allocations of each of the SIPs during the period 1998 to 2002. The aim of this chapter is therefore to provide a descriptive position of the SIP programme that will frame later discussions of the practices of the case study SIPs, while fitting these within the wider context of the overall programme that has emerged.

The data presented in this chapter shows that three trends are present. Firstly, there has been an increased targeting of resources towards Glasgow; a move seen both through a significant increase in the number of funded Partnerships in the city and through an increase in the share of funding coming to the city. Secondly, while the SIP programme has widened the targeting approach from its traditional focus only on deprived urban neighbourhoods, at this stage rural and thematic SIPs still receive only a small share of the overall funding available. Thirdly, the relevance of the policy agenda on the social exclusion of young people set out in Chapter 2 is highlighted as a significant influence on the SIP programme, with both area-based and thematic SIPs focusing explicitly on this group through their targeting approach. From this discussion, this chapter argues that the relevance of the policy agenda on 'social inclusion' has brought with it an explicit concern with 'people' issues, both within and beyond the context of neighbourhood based 'place' influences. With this policy context in place, there is argued to be a clear policy commitment to tackling the social exclusion of young people using the SIP programme as one route through which to deliver on this policy concern.

Focusing on Urban Areas

Before looking in detail at the trends emerging with the introduction of SIPs, it is worth providing some general information on the main developments that have occurred with the shift from funding of Programme for Partnership (PfP) to the introduction of SIPs in April

1999. The first development was an increase in the overall number of Partnerships. The previous Programme for Partnership approach introduced in 1996 had two components: PPAs with funding for 10 years and RPs with funding for 5 years (see Chapter 3 for more information). The introduction of the SIP programme in 1999 superseded this arrangement while offering all PFPs the option of converting their funding status to continue gaining funding as SIPs. Thus, the 21 converted SIPs¹ immediately commanded a share of the Partnership budget alongside the 26 new SIPs that gained funding from 1999; while one further new area-based SIP gained funding from 2000². What is immediately apparent from this is that the number of Partnerships³ has more than doubled from 21 under Programme for Partnership to 48 under the SIP programme. Appendix 3 provides a list of all of the SIPs in place from 2000; this shows that the 12 PPAs and 9 RPs continue to receive funding along with a further 13 new area-based and 14 thematic SIPs.

However, when looking at the funding allocations under PFP, as compared with after the introduction of SIPs, there is not a significant increase in funding to correspond with the increased number of Partnerships. For example, as Table 4.1 shows⁴, spending on PPAs/RPs was £38.9 million in 1998/9. With the introduction of SIPs in 1999/2000, this rose to £47 million, £52.7 million in 2000/01 and £55.9 million in 2001/02. Given that the number of Partnerships had more than doubled in the intervening period (from 21 to 48) and funding had only risen by £17 million (representing a 50% increase), it is clear that there has not been a corresponding increase in funding to coincide with the increase in number of Partnerships. The reasons for this trend are explored through the discussion in this chapter.

¹ Upon conversion to SIPs, all RPs that had not previously been partnership based made arrangements to set up partnerships to manage this funding. There is no official documentation to say whether this was an instruction from the Scottish Office. However, given the promotion of partnership approaches, it is likely that those RPs that had not already taken this step were instructed to do so in order to ensure continued funding.

² The new SIP was 'Glasgow Smaller Areas': an archipelago SIP targeting 11 neighbourhoods in the city.

³ While I refer to 'Partnerships' to talk about converted PPAs and RPs as well as new SIPs, it is worth reiterating that some of the RPs prior to conversion were not dealt with working as partnerships to allocate this funding.

⁴ Full details of the spending on all SIPs between 1998/99 and 2001/02 is outlined in Appendix 9.

Table 4. 1: Funding Allocations to PPA/RPs as proportion of total budget 1998-2001

PPA/RPs	1998/9	1999/2000	2000/1	2001/2
Total PPA spending	30,204,225	28,631,000	27,284,348	26,971,904
Total RP spending	8,708,000	6,513,000	5,425,450	5,446,693
Total PPA/RP spending ⁵	38,912,225	35,144,000	32,709,798	32,418,597
% SIP Budget	100%	75%	62%	58%
Total PfP/SIP spending	38,912,225	47,049,715	52,699,430	55,914,400

While the overall budget did not significantly increase to acknowledge the much larger number of Partnerships gaining funding after the introduction of SIPs, Table 4.1 does show that there has been a slight reduction over time in the level of spending targeted towards PPA/RPs. Indeed, both ex-PPAs and ex-RPs show steady reductions in their annual funding allocations between 1998 and 2001 from £38.9 million in 1998/9 to £32.4 million in 2001/02. Consequently, with the overall SIP budget increasing at the same time as the allocation to PPA/RPs was reducing, there has been a reduction from 75% of the SIP budget going to ex-PPA/RPs in 1999/2000 to 58% of the SIP budget going to these Partnerships in 2001/02. Thus, there has been a progressive shift in funding allocations from ex-PPA/RPs to new SIPs over this three-year period.

While the above shows overall changes in spending on PPAs/RPs and SIPs over time, attention now turns to specific elements of the spending trends that have dominated this resource. It is shown later in the discussion that a significant proportion of the SIP budget is targeted towards Glasgow. However, to set this in its context, the first thing to note is the funding targeted towards Scottish cities in general.

Targeting the Cities

It is clear from the spending priorities emphasised through PPA/RP and followed on through SIP funding that one of the central concerns in targeting regeneration funding historically has been to focus resources on concentrated areas of urban deprivation (Pacione 1997). This trend dominated the targeting undertaken within PfP and to some extent is still a central focus of the targeting agenda of SIPs. A central element of this urban focus is the targeting of funding

⁵ This row represents only spending on ex-PPA/RPs, whereas the final row refers to spending on new SIPs as well as ex-PPAs/RPs.

towards Scotland's cities. As Table 4.2 shows, half (17 of 34) of the area-based Partnerships are based in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen⁶. In addition, a further six of the fourteen thematic SIPs in Scotland target resources towards excluded groups in the cities⁷. The fact that deprived areas in the cities are highly represented in the index of urban deprivation (Gibb et al 1998) is likely to explain the level of funding and the number of SIPs located in these areas. Indeed, relative to the population living in the cities (1.4 million people, representing 28% of the Scottish population) that almost half of the SIPs are focusing on the cities suggests that need as well as population explains the number of SIPs in these locations.

Table 4.2: Funding to City Based PPA/RP and SIPs

Location	1998/9	1999/2000	2000/1	2001/2
City SIPs (area-based)				
Aberdeen	1,040,000	809,000	844,000	850,000
Dundee (2 SIPs)	3,839,000	3,304,000	2,572,000	2,507,850
Edinburgh (4 SIPs)	7,589,000	6,518,000	5,886,298	5,810,250
Glasgow (10 SIPs)	8,700,000	14,437,890	18,373,280	20,519,227
Sub-Total	21,168,000	25,068,890	27,675,578	29,687,327
<i>% of SIP budget</i>	55%	53%	53%	53%
City SIPs (thematic)				
Dundee (2 SIPs)		356,000	605,000	696,250
Edinburgh (1 SIP)		205,000	567,000	574,000
Glasgow (3 SIPs)		1,158,825	1,855,828	1,699,245
Sub-Total		1,719,825	3,027,828	2,969,495
<i>% of SIP budget</i>		4%	6%	5%
Total	21,168,000	26,788,715	30,703,406	32,656,822
% of SIP budget*	55%	57%	58%	58%
Total SIP budget	38,912,225	47,049,715	52,699,430	55,914,400

* Because of rounding, percentages do not always add up exactly.

In terms of the level of funding provided to city based SIPs, Table 4.2 shows that the cities gained around £21.2 million (55%) of the £38.9 million budget under PpP in 1998/9. With the introduction of the new area-based and thematic Social Inclusion Partnerships from 1999, city based Partnerships maintained their share of the total SIP budget at £26.8 million (57%) in 1999 and £32.7 (58%) in 2001. While this indicates a rise in spending in real terms, there was no significant rise in the proportion of the total spending over this three-year period.

⁶ Of this total, 16 area-based SIPs are located in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee, with only one in Aberdeen (see Appendix 3).

Targeting Glasgow

While total funding on city based SIPs has not grown significantly as a share of the total SIP budget, it is clear that Glasgow has gained both a greater number of SIPs and a significantly larger share of the SIP fund than under Pfp. Indeed, the number of SIPs in Glasgow rose from 3 to 13 during the period 1998 to 2000, compared with a total of 5 in Edinburgh and 4 in Dundee. In relation to the rise in funding to the city, Table 4.3 shows that, with the change over to SIPs in 1999, the total spend on Glasgow area-based SIPs rose from £8.7 million (22%) in 1998 to £14.4 million (31%) in 1999, rising to £20.5 million (37%) in 2001.

Table 4.3: Funding to SIPs in Glasgow

SIP	1998/9	1999/2000	2000/1	2001/2
Area-based SIPs				
Drumchapel		1,875,000	2,755,280	2,756,466
East End (PPA)	2,800,000	2,800,000	2,868,000	2,907,000
Gorbals		562,500	764,000	779,000
Greater Easterhouse (PPA)	3,400,000	3,400,000	3,491,000	3,539,000
Greater Govan		375,000	509,000	896,981
Greater Pollock		1,725,000	2,343,000	3,008,530
Milton		200,074	764,000	942,125
Glasgow North (PPA)	2,500,000	3,300,000	2,987,000	3,047,000
Springburn		200,316	764,000	825,000
Glasgow Smaller Area			1,128,000	1,818,125
<i>Sub-total for area-based SIPs</i>	<i>8,700,000</i>	<i>14,437,890</i>	<i>18,373,280</i>	<i>20,519,227</i>
<i>% of total SIP budget</i>	<i>22%</i>	<i>31%</i>	<i>35%</i>	<i>37%</i>
Thematic SIPs				
Glasgow Anti Racist Alliance		593,325	780,500	783,250
Routes Out [of prostitution] ⁸		187,500	353,000	325,552
The Big Step		378,000	722,328	590,443
<i>Sub-total for thematic SIPs</i>		<i>1,158,825</i>	<i>1,855,828</i>	<i>1,699,245</i>
<i>% of total SIP budget</i>		<i>2.4%</i>	<i>3.5%</i>	<i>3%</i>
Total	8,700,000	15,596,715	20,229,108	22,218,472
% of SIP budget	22%	33%	38%	40%

The inclusion of the thematic SIPs in this calculation further increases the share of funding to Glasgow by a further £1.16 million in 1999 rising to £1.7 million in 2001. As a result, Glasgow has increased its total share of SIP funding to £22.2 million (40%) in 2001. This increase

⁷ See Appendix 3 for details of the geographical location of all 48 SIPs

⁸ Renamed in 2000 'routes out' from originally being names 'routes out of prostitution'

indicates that Glasgow now has a much larger share of the total SIP budget than under PPA funding in 1998, when the city held 22% of the total budget.

There are at least two ways of explaining the reasons for this change in allocation of funding to Glasgow at this time: either as relating to the number of people in the city as a proportion of the Scottish population, or alternatively as an indicator of need in the city. In relation to the former, this is a generous allocation given that only 12% (611,000 people) of Scotland's population live in Glasgow, while a further 9% (452,000 people) live in Edinburgh, 4% (212,700 people) in Aberdeen and 3% (144,400 people) in Dundee⁹. However, in relation to addressing need, that Glasgow's share of funding has increased does not take adequate account of the deprivation levels in the city given that 58% of the top 10% of urban deprivation occurs in Glasgow¹⁰. With that figure in mind, an allocation of 40% of the total SIP budget is relatively low.

Not only does Glasgow increasingly command a larger share of the SIP budget than other cities (see Table 4.2), it is the only one of the four cities where funding on area-based SIPs has increased between 1998 and 2001. In comparison, both Edinburgh and Dundee saw reductions in their area-based funding allocation during this period. This is partly explained through these cities not increasing the number of area-based SIPs with the introduction of the SIP programme; with only one new area-based SIP in Edinburgh and none in Dundee. The result is that whereas Glasgow has increased its share of funding through having many more SIPs, this is not the case in other cities. When also considering the funding allocations related to thematic SIPs, we see that Dundee's share of the SIP budget has gone from £3.8 million (10% of the total SIP budget) under PfP in 1998 to £3.2 million (6%) in 2001. In Edinburgh, a similar reduction of spending from £7.6 million (20%) under PfP in 1998 to £6.4 million (11%) in 2001 illustrates that, given the relative stability of spending on the cities as a whole over time, spending increases in Glasgow have come at the expense of spending on the other cities in Scotland.

Within Glasgow, Table 4.3 shows that the majority of spending on SIPs is targeted towards the old PPAs. In 1998, the allocation to the three PPAs was £8.7 million. By 2000, this had risen to £9.3 million (49% of the total spending in Glasgow) and £9.5 million (43% of the

⁹ Population figures obtained from the General Register Office for Scotland: www.gro-scotland.gov.uk

¹⁰ The figures from this index of deprivation have been disputed resulting in a new index being commissioned by the Scottish Executive (see SDRC 2003).

total spending in Glasgow) in 2001. Compared with this, the remaining ten new SIPs received only a relatively small share of the overall spending in the city. The notable exceptions are Drumchapel and Greater Pollok SIPs, both of which received funding allocations similar to those given to ex-PPAs. However, the remaining area-based SIPs and thematic SIPs in the city saw a much smaller share of the city's SIP funding. Thus, what these figures show is that, overall, Glasgow commands a much larger share of the total SIP fund than it did under PpP, but that this funding is both targeted disproportionately towards ex-PPAs and is further spread amongst a much larger number of SIPs than in any other locality in Scotland.

Targeting Other Urban Areas

As well as the funding changes occurring in the cities, other urban areas have seen changes in their funding allocations after the introduction of the SIP programme. As Table 4.4 shows, there are now 11 ex-PPA/RPs and 2 new area-based SIPs targeting resources towards urban areas in Scotland outside the cities. In a similar way to the city-based Partnerships, the concern of this focus is to target resources towards those areas identified as in the top 10% of urban deprivation, including North and South Lanarkshire, North Ayrshire and West Dunbartonshire (Gibb et al 1998).

What Table 4.4 shows is that under PPA/RP, given that this programme focused only on urban deprivation, these areas gained the remaining £17.7 million (45%) of the Urban Programme budget not targeted towards Scottish cities (see Table 4.2). With the introduction of the SIP programme in 1999, and only two more urban area-based SIPs added, the total spend on urban non-city Partnership remained relatively constant at £16.6 million (35%) in 1999 and £17.4 million (31%) in 2001. These figures suggest both a reduction in the proportion of spending on urban non-city SIPs as a percentage of the total spending on all SIPs, and also a shifting of the share of this funding from the ex-PPA/RPs to the new SIPs. In particular, Blantyre SIP increased its funding allocation from £500,000 in 1999 to £2.1 million in 2001. Alongside this, the ex-PPA/RPs reduced their share of the total SIP fund from £17.7 million in 1998 to £14.9 million (27% of SIP budget) in 2001. This shifting of resources means that urban non-city SIPs have not gained in resource terms from the introduction of the SIP programme. Rather they have maintained in real terms the same level of funding, although this has meant less funding going to ex-PPA/RPs and funding shifting towards new SIPs in these areas.

Table 4.4: Funding to Non-City Based Urban PPA/RPs and SIPs

Location	1998/9	1999/2000	2000/1	2001/2
Old PPA/RPs				
Cambuslang	600,000	600,000	625,000	631,350
Falkirk	550,000	550,000	578,750	585,600
Fife	1,178,000	751,000	630,000	640,500
Inverclyde	3,302,225	2,998,000	2,421,000	2,421,000
Levern Valley	661,000	433,000	446,000	464,443
Motherwell North	1,530,000	1,530,000	1,629,500	1,640,750
North Ayr	1,709,000	1,508,000	1,545,938	1,557,000
North Ayrshire	789,000	776,000	730,000	742,675
North Lanarkshire	850,000	850,000	886,250	904,325
Paisley, Renfrew	3,189,000	2,981,000	2,947,000	2,692,154
Stirling	799,000	583,000	526,000	530,700
West Dunbartonshire	2,587,000	2,193,000	2,087,000	2,076,000
<i>Sub-Total</i>	<i>17,744,225</i>	<i>15,753,000</i>	<i>15,052,438</i>	<i>14,886,497</i>
New SIPs				
Blantyre/North Hamilton		500,000	1,019,000	2,116,710
Girvan		315,000	428,000	364,600
<i>Sub-Total</i>		<i>815,000</i>	<i>1,447,000</i>	<i>2,481,310</i>
Total	17,744,225	16,568,000	16,499,438	17,367,807
% of SIP Budget	46%	35%	31%	31%

A New Targeting Approach: beyond the urban area

Targeting Rural/Coalfield Areas

The above discussion of funding changes within urban settings shows only Glasgow as gaining from the funding allocations introduced with SIPs. However, one further area where funding has been newly directed with the introduction of SIPs has been towards rural/coalfield areas¹¹. As Table 4.5 shows, there are three area-based SIPs targeting rural/coalfield areas; one in Argyll & Bute targeting deprived rural communities and two in East Ayrshire and Clackmannanshire targeting former coal-mining areas. In addition to these area-based SIPs, five thematic SIPs also target excluded groups living in rural/coalfield communities. Highland & Islands SIP and Scottish Borders SIP, for example, are directing resources towards excluded groups living in rural communities. Two SIPs focusing on young

¹¹ The identification of rural and coalfield communities is drawn from SIP bids where Partnerships have defined their target area as either rural or ex coal-mining.

people in Perth & Kinross and Moray are targeting both rural and urban areas, while Tranent SIP targets young people within this former coal mining area. Thus, targeting towards rural and coal mining areas is occurring within both area-based and thematic SIPs.

Table 4.5: Funding to Rural/Coalfield SIPs

Location	Targeting	Focus	1999/2000	2000/1	2001/2
Argyle & Bute	Area-based	Rural	206,000	280,000	369,216
Alloa Sth & East	Area-based	Coalfield	750,000	1,017,000	1,038,000
East Ayr Coalfields	Area-based	Coalfield	741,000	1,042,250	1,376,000
Tranent	Thematic	Coalfield/Rural	94,000	128,000	156,000
Highland Well Being	Thematic	Rural	603,000	886,825	890,500
Scottish Borders	Thematic	Rural	215,000	235,000	252,000
Moray Youthstart	Thematic	Rural/Urban	424,000	576,000	447,000
Perth & Kinross	Thematic	Rural/Urban	128,000	194,761	228,055
Total			3,161,000	4,359,836	4,756,771
% of SIP budget			7%	8%	8%

Given the centrality of city and urban funding that has historically dominated regeneration funding initiatives, it is perhaps not surprising that rural and coalfield SIPs are not yet gaining a significant proportion of the SIP budget. As Table 4.5 shows, between the 8 area-based and thematic SIPs, a total of just under £3.2 million (7%) in 1999 rising to £4.8 million (8%) in 2001 was targeted towards rural and coalfield areas. However, given that a total of 9.2% of Scotland’s population live in rural Scotland (much of which is not likely to be defined as deprived), that 8% of SIP funding goes to these specific rural communities would suggest that the share of funding targeted to these SIPs is greater than the population estimates for these areas¹². However, the lack of reliable information on levels of rural deprivation in Scotland mean that it is not possible to estimate the level of need in these areas and the extent to which this allocation might usefully address that need.

Targeting Excluded Groups

In addition to the widening of the targeting agenda to acknowledge the needs of rural/coalfield areas, this round of funding is also targeting resources towards excluded groups, both within and beyond the most deprived urban communities. In financial terms, the targeting of resources towards thematic SIPs, in the same way as was seen with rural and coalfield SIPs, represents a relatively small proportion of the SIP budget. As Table 4.6 shows,

¹² Estimates of rural population in Scotland drawn from www.gro-scotland.gov.uk

just over £3.7 million (8%) in 1999 rising to £6 million (11%) in 2001 was spent on thematic SIPs. Given that there are 14 thematic SIPs, Table 4.6 shows that each individually has a relatively low share of the SIP budget as a proportion of the total spend. It is, nonetheless, a larger share of the funding than that going to rural areas. However, that some of the thematic SIPs are focusing on rurally based groups (see Table 4.5), illustrates that there is a significant overlap between the rural and thematic targeting, with approximately 32% of the total spending on thematic SIPs going to those focusing on rural areas. The reason for this overlap may relate to difficulties with targeting resources towards rural communities through traditional area-based routes, which focus on areas of concentrated deprivation. The thematic SIP approach, therefore, allows resources to be targeted towards wider rural areas than previous urban-based targeting approaches.

Table 4.6: Funding to Thematic SIPs

SIP	Target area	1999/2000	2000/1	2001/2
Dundee Young Carers	city-wide	56,000	105,000	104,000
Dundee Xplore	city-wide	300,000	500,000	592,250
Edinburgh Youth SIP	Archipelago	205,000	567,000	574,000
FRAE (racial equality), Fife	local authority-wide	94,000	164,750	131,000
Glasgow Anti-Racist Alliance	city-wide	593,325	780,500	783,250
Care Leavers, Glasgow	city-wide	378,000	722,328	590,443
Routes Out, Glasgow	city-wide	187,500	353,000	325,552
Highlands & Islands	Archipelago	603,000	886,825	890,500
Moray YouthStart	local authority-wide	424,000	576,000	447,000
Care Leavers, Perth & Kinross	local authority-wide	128,000	194,761	228,055
Scottish Borders Youth	local authority-wide	215,000	235,000	252,000
South Coatbridge	area-based*	250,000	716,000	793,000
Tranent, East Lothian	school catchment area	94,000	128,000	156,000
West Lothian	local authority-wide	188,000	256,000	209,000
Total		3,715,825	6,185,164	6,076,050
% of SIP budget		8%	12%	11%

*Focuses on all 30 Enumeration Districts in South Coatbridge (a local area in North Lanarkshire).

As, traditionally, funding has targeted areas of urban deprivation, the focus on excluded groups has maintained a spatial dimension, albeit in most cases targeting at a wider spatial scale than that of the deprived neighbourhood. Indeed, the exact spatial scale of the targeting undertaken by thematic SIPs seems to vary widely between deprived urban areas at one end and city/local authority level at the other. Indeed, as Table 4.6 shows, 10 of the 14 thematic SIPs are targeting at the local authority or city level rather than more locally. However, there are also a small number of SIPs targeting excluded groups at the neighbourhood level, either

via an archipelago or single area-based approach. In Edinburgh, for example, the youth SIP has chosen to take this archipelago approach to target resources at young people within 11 deprived communities across the city¹³. The small number of thematic SIPs that have chosen to focus on deprived neighbourhoods are likely to have done so in order to target resources towards the needs of specific social groups based within the most deprived communities.

Given that the majority of thematic SIPs have chosen to focus attention on excluded groups across relatively large spatial areas, the focus on excluded groups occurs at a wider spatial scale than area-based initiatives focusing on deprived neighbourhoods. This thematic focus therefore attempts to respond to the view that there are specific social groups who are at risk of social exclusion, but do not live in the most deprived urban areas (Spicker 1995). However, there does remain a spatial focus to the work of thematic SIPs whether this is archipelago based or city/local authority wide.

The most notable development with the introduction of thematic SIPs is a concern with the needs of people within places. However, it is worth noting that this concern about people is also a feature of area-based SIPs, where targeting towards places to address social and economic exclusion often either directly or indirectly focus on specific groups within these areas. For example, concern to increase local levels of labour market participation may involve developing initiatives to address educational attainment levels, long-term unemployment, drug misuse or youth unemployment. These initiatives will inevitably target particular groups depending on the issue under consideration. By implication then, many of the initiatives that are undertaken under the banner of area-based initiatives do not target everyone within the local area, rather particular groups and social issues are prioritised. Thus, a thematic agenda has been undertaken implicitly within area-based programmes prior to the introduction of thematic SIPs. The main distinction lies with the fact that area-based SIPs are concerned with a range of issues at the neighbourhood level, while thematic SIPs are concerned with a range of issues affecting a particular excluded group either at the neighbourhood level or within a wider spatial scale. However, this distinction is unclear in practice given that there is not a clear cut division between the work undertaken by area-based and thematic SIPs.

¹³ See Table 4.7 for more details on the group focus of thematic SIPs.

The Policy Focus on Young People

Having outlined the location of SIPs throughout Scotland and the relationship between people and place that emerges when considering the function of area-based and thematic SIPs, the final issue to emerge through analysis of the trends emerging through the development of the SIP programme relates to the concern to target the exclusion of young people. This is illustrated most explicitly through the emergence of the thematic SIP agenda. As Table 4.7 shows, 11 of the 14 thematic SIPs in place since 1999 are concerned to target the social exclusion of children and young people as a central priority.

Table 4.7: Focus of Thematic SIPs

<i>Name of SIP</i>	<i>Focus of SIP*</i>
Dundee Young Carers	Targeting social exclusion and increasing support to young carers (under 18 years) living in the city.
Dundee Xplore	Tackling social exclusion of young people (11-18 years) living in the city.
Edinburgh Youth	Tackling social exclusion of young people (14-21 years) from eleven deprived neighbourhoods in the city.
FRAE (racial equalities) Fife	Aims to tackle extensive social exclusion issues for isolated and marginalised black and ethnic minority communities in Fife.
Big Step, Glasgow	Focuses on improving opportunities, services and inclusion for young people (15-25 years) leaving care in Glasgow.
Glasgow Anti-Racist Alliance (GARA)	Focuses on combating racism in Glasgow through social inclusion for young people from black and ethnic minority communities.
Routes Out, Glasgow	Focuses on preventing women entering, and supporting women to leave, prostitution throughout the city.
Highlands & Islands	Aims to develop approaches to tackle disadvantage experienced by young people (14-25 years) within fourteen identified areas.
Moray YouthStart	Enabling young people in Moray to become full and active citizens while addressing the needs of ‘vulnerable’ young people.
Go, Perth & Kinross	Prevention of exclusion for young people leaving care throughout Perth & Kinross.
Scottish Borders	Improving training and employment opportunities for young people (15 – 25 years) to encourage them to stay in the Borders.
South Coatbridge	Reducing the health gap between residents of South Coatbridge and the rest of North Lanarkshire.
Tranent, East Lothian	Promoting social inclusion of children and young people in Tranent and local high school catchment area.
West Lothian	Addressing early years (pre-school) needs and support in making transition from school to work .

* Where age limits around the youth focus are known they are noted above.

On closer inspection of the priorities targeted, it seems that while there is some focus on children and early interventions, more of the thematic SIPs express direct concern about targeting attention towards specific groups of young people. The exact focus of the targeting approach adopted varies between SIPs, with some focusing on youth generally and others concerned with specific aspects of youth, such as young people's caring responsibilities, their needs as a result of being in care or the experiences of ethnic minority young people. In addition, as was noted earlier, thematic SIPs also offer the opportunity to target attention at specific groups within either a rural or urban setting.

In addition to thematic SIPs focusing on the exclusion of children and young people, area-based SIPs also highlight the needs of this group through their area-based targeting measures. Notably, 15 of the 21 ex-PPA and ex-RPs and 9 of the 12 new area-based SIPs explicitly state a concern to target attention to the needs of children and young people within their area targeting approach. Because of the wide-ranging programme of work listed as being undertaken within the 24 area-based SIPs that cite a concern with targeting attention towards children and young people, it is not possible within this discussion to give extensive attention to the initiatives that have been outlined. However, in general, the targeting measures in area-based SIPs that express concern with the exclusion of children and young people range from those that mention (almost in passing) that they will take account of these groups in their local targeting measures, while others outline specific plans to develop extensive programmes of work to address issues such as youth unemployment, school attainment, local services for young people and pre-school initiatives to support families with young children. Case study Box 4.1 gives a flavour of the types of issues that are mentioned, while also illustrating that both ex-PPA/RPs and new area-based SIPs are concerned with targeting attention towards children and young people.

These examples show that the first two SIPs (the ex-PPA/RPs) outline no specific initiatives that they are undertaking to meet the needs of young people; rather the concern is with ensuring that this group in particular gain from the measures being undertaken at the local level. Thus, the concern of these Partnerships is to improve outcomes for young people as part of the local community rather than focusing on them as a specific priority group. However, the new area-based SIP outlines more concerns about particular forms of exclusion facing young people at the community level. The reason for this difference in approach is two-fold. Firstly, given that the social exclusion approach concentrates on people as well as places, focusing on people within the most deprived areas is now likely to be recognised, more than previously, as an explicit policy focus that SIPs should address through their work. Secondly,

as was outlined in Chapter 2, the concern with children and young people that has emerged as part of the social inclusion policy agenda (and which has been continued under the banner of 'social justice' policy) means that both practitioners and policy-makers are concentrating attention on this group. Within this context, ex-PPA/RPs are in a weaker position to draw attention to specific priorities relating to specific excluded groups as they will not have had to develop this targeting approach in the application for PPA/RP funding in 1996. New SIPs, on the other hand, both area-based and thematic based, will have been able to frame their application around this policy priority.

Case Study Box 4.1: Area-based SIPs Focusing on Children and Young People

Throughout their time as a Regeneration Partnership and continuing through to their conversion to SIP status, **Fife SIP** consider their main priority has been to "improve the chances of children and young people avoid[ing] becoming socially excluded as adults". The approach to achieve this end is through prioritising of funding projects that target young people and early years work. (Fife Council 1999)

Motherwell North SIP was a PPA and upon conversion to a SIP flagged up their commitment to 'focusing on children and young people' In their words "the Partnership has placed a high emphasis on early intervention to assist young people. This is reflected in the project funding assessment process that gives higher priority in determining funding to projects which 'demonstrate a level of participation and an outcome for young people'". (North Lanarkshire Council 1999)

Alloa South and East SIP in Clackmannanshire is a new SIP set up in April 1999 with the intention of addressing a range of social problems (including high unemployment, low levels of educational attainment, high incidences of limiting long-term illness). In order to do this they have chosen to focus on specific excluded groups: families and young children; emerging adolescents (transition from primary to secondary education); vulnerable young people (young offenders, truants, substance abusers etc); and disadvantaged adults (those long term unemployed, low skills/motivation and disabled people on benefits). (Clackmannanshire Council 1999)

As part of this targeting of young people, a number of themes emerge from analysis of SIP documentation. These broadly relate to:

- Educational attainment.
- Access to employment and training opportunities.
- Drug and alcohol misuse.
- Housing and homelessness.
- Improving health.
- Improving communication between young people and adults/service agencies.
- Involving young people in community life.

Other issues, including crime/offending, unplanned pregnancy and family breakdown are also priorities, although less centrally so. These priorities are often inter-linked concerns, with, for example, education, employment and health identified as interdependent causes of exclusion. Thus, from analysis of the targeting approach adopted by ex PPA/RPs and new SIPs, promoting 'social inclusion' centres on three main priorities:

- *Opportunities for employment:* educational attainment, training and employment programmes.
- *Health and independence:* promoting healthy living and drug and alcohol programmes.
- *Civic participation:* promoting better communication between services/local adults and young people and linking young people into SIP decision-making.

These priorities suggest a concern with promoting mutual responsibility between young people and adults. This is most explicit through the agenda on 'civic participation' where young people are encouraged to engage in dialogue with service providers and local adults to play their part in local decision-making. However, the provision of services for young people through educational, housing and health programmes also suggest a reciprocity between the provision of supports that young people are then expected to take up. As noted in Chapter 2, this concern with reciprocity and responsibility on the part of 'the excluded' is part of the current policy agenda on social inclusion.

However, in addition, two further motivations for focusing on young people through SIPs are identified. Firstly, there is a policy commitment to target young people in order to avoid later problems, which returns to the point made in Chapter 2 about taking a preventative approach through 'early interventions' (PAT 12 2000). Many of the activities undertaken by SIPs in relation to young people fit within this agenda. For example, initiatives to engage young people in education and to address their health needs are aiming to intervene before long-term problems set in. Secondly, there is concern about the problems associated with young people and the costs to wider society of these problems. This agenda highlights both the fact that young people face problems such as homelessness, unemployment and poor health while also drawing attention to the fact that young people are themselves a source of problems through, for example, their participation in crime and drug misuse (PAT 12 2000). Whether concerned with prevention of future problems or current problem intervention (either as victim or perpetrator) there is a cost element to the motivation for focusing on this group. In relation to the preventative approach, the motivation is that early intervention will avoid the later individual and social costs of poor health, education or unemployment, while the current cost to the taxpayer of the activities of young people is also a cause for concern (PAT 12 2000).

The guidance provided for SIPs at the time of applying for funding (Scottish Office 1998f) does not explicitly request that SIPs focus attention on young people through their intended work programme. The reason that so many have chosen to do so is unclear. However, there are likely to be two contributory factors that have influenced this focus. The first is that the policy steer emerging from the social inclusion agenda, with its express concern about the prevention of exclusion and targets to address the needs of children and young people, illustrates that Government are profiling children and young people as a priority group who are in need of policy interventions. Thus, that so many new SIPs have focused on this group through their targeting approach, notably thematic SIPs, suggests an implicit understanding of the importance of this policy priority. The second reason, relates to the fact that service providers themselves have identified children and young people as a central policy priority. Indeed, the consultation undertaken in Scotland in 1998 to assist the Scottish Office with developing the strategy to address social exclusion found that respondents identified young people as a priority group:

A broad category of 'young people' was identified by the majority of responses as being particularly vulnerable to social exclusion and also as an appropriate target group for fast-track policy¹⁴.... While many young people make the transition from childhood to independent adulthood unscathed, the identification of this group recognises that many do not and that these years are often marked by radical change, intense stress and social confusion for young people. (Scottish Office 1998b; 30)

The combined policy and practice concern about young people in Scotland, therefore, leads to a position where both funders and practitioners share a concern with addressing the needs of this group for a range of reasons noted previously to relate to the costs to young people themselves and to wider society.

Conclusion

This chapter has served to outline the main policy trends to have emerged with the introduction of SIPs. Three specific issues were identified as significant to understanding the shift in policy and funding with this policy development. Firstly, there has been a continuation of a long-held commitment to targeting funding towards deprived urban communities. With the introduction of the SIP programme, Glasgow in particular has seen an increase in the number of SIPs and share of the overall budget both in comparison with other cities and with other urban areas. However, the concurrent increase in the number of funded Partnerships,

¹⁴ No definition of 'fast track policy' is given, but it is likely to refer to those areas of policy where interventions are likely to see quick results.

from 3 PFPs to 13 SIPs, does provide context for this increase in funding; with the 3 ex-PPAs in particular still retaining a significant share of the funding provided to the city, while thematic SIPs have gained a relatively small share of the funding allocation. This policy development has therefore gone some way to acknowledge the levels of deprivation in Glasgow relative to other locations in Scotland and through this to both increase the number of areas that gain funding and to target more funding towards the most deprived areas in the city.

Secondly, the introduction of the social inclusion policy agenda has widened the targeting approach to address the needs of rural and coalfield communities, in addition to areas of urban deprivation. This focus does, however, only commands a relatively small proportion of the SIP budget; a move that is in line with the relative size of the population living in rural communities in Scotland and the small number of SIPs focusing on these areas. That this funding source is targeting the needs of rural/coalfield communities is, however, a significant development emerging from the policy focus on social inclusion by attempting to acknowledge the problems that occur within non-urban areas. Added to this, the introduction of thematic SIPs has meant that this funding initiative is also concerned with the exclusion of social groups. It is evident that the SIP budget is targeting a much wider range of issues than was the case with previous urban policy programmes. As with rural/coalfield SIPs, the share of the SIP budget on thematic SIPs is relatively small. That some thematic SIPs are also rural/coalfield SIPs means that there is overlap in the funding allocation between these two issues; a focus that reduces further the total share of funding allocated to these new initiatives relative to the funding targeted towards urban area-based SIPs.

Thirdly, it has been highlighted that young people have emerged as a central priority within the targeting approach adopted by both area-based and thematic SIPs. While the area-based SIPs are focusing on these groups as part of their concern with urban deprivation, the development of new thematic SIPs has explicitly highlighted the policy and practitioner concern with the social exclusion of young people; with 11 of the 14 thematic SIPs identifying concern with young people as a central priority. The reasons identified for this focus relate in part to a need to meet the needs of vulnerable young people to address their problem status both within deprived neighbourhoods, and in terms of the wider social costs of young people's problematic behaviour.

The relevance of the policy focus taken within SIPs to this study relates in part to the explicit development of a policy commitment to focusing attention on people, within and beyond the most deprived neighbourhoods. In particular, this policy programme brings with it an explicit

focus on young people that provides clarification of the policy concern with addressing the social exclusion of this group through both area-based and thematic targeting measures. With this policy context in place, Chapter 5 now turns attention to the methodology employed in developing and taking forward this study.

Chapter 5: Methodology

Introduction

Having in Chapter 4 outlined general information on the SIP programme by presenting primary data on the development of this programme, attention here turns to the methodology involved in taking forward this study. There are five issues outlined in this discussion that are of importance to understanding the development and progress of this study: the first two relating to the context within which the study has been taken forward; and the latter three relating to the stages through which the study has gone from start to finish.

Firstly, attention is given to the philosophical influences underpinning this study where it is argued that a realist ontological and epistemological framework offers a useful approach to researching SIPs within their social and political setting. Secondly, the decision to undertake a case study approach is outlined in order to illustrate the value of this methodological approach for answering the questions of interest. Thirdly, the first of the three stages of the research process is presented, where attention is given to the development of the study in the first year through the review work undertaken, the analysis of SIP data and the selection of the case study SIPs which helped to frame understanding of the context of this study prior to starting fieldwork. The second stage of the study is shown to focus on data collection undertaken to progress the research through from a theoretical to an empirical study, using SIP annual reports, interviews with a range of stakeholders, both inside the case study SIPs and beyond, and observation of SIP meetings/events to inform the study. Finally, the third stage of the research is shown to focus on outlining a range of practical issues relating to the management of the research process, including formally exiting the field, management and analysis of data and ethical use of the interview data. In setting out these five themes, the intention is to offer a picture of the various issues of relevance to progressing this research and the stages gone through in undertaking this study.

A Philosophical Perspective on Social Research

A body of literature exists which explores the relevance of philosophy to the process of conducting social science research (see, for example, Williams & May 1996; Hollis 1994). The main strands of thinking on this issue have tended to highlight contrasts between empiricism or idealism as the main ontological positions (May 1993), and interpretivism or positivism as the main epistemological positions (Sarantakos 1994). This dichotomy is to some extent misleading as research is often influenced by more than one approach (see Guba & Lincoln 1998). In contrast to these perspectives, *realism* offers an alternative perspective for pursuing

social research (Sayer 1992). It is this position that underpins the philosophical perspective taken within this study, and which is briefly outlined below.

In setting out this position, it is important to stress that, while realism has offered a useful ontological and epistemological perspective for understanding the research area studied; this thesis it not intended to offer a realist theory of social inclusion. Rather, realism provides a philosophical perspective from which to explore the influences that underpinned my approach to data collection and analysis.

A Realist Philosophy

In both ontological and epistemological terms, realism provides an alternative to, first, empiricist/positivist approaches, which promote the view that there is an objective measurable world that research can observe and, therefore, 'know' (Bulmer 1982) regardless of people's interaction with it; and, second, idealist/interpretivist approaches, which propose that we can only know what is perceived (Unwin 1992), with the role of research being to explore those perceptions (Bryman 1988). In contrast, realism proposes that there is a real social world that exists independent of our knowledge of it (Sayer 1992), but that, in addition, 'the knowledge that people have of their social world affects their behaviour [within it]' (May 1993; 7).

Through this perspective, it is argued that the social world is made up of a set of mechanisms and constraints within which individuals take action, whether they are aware of these mechanisms or not, but that the actions of individuals also shape and reinforce these mechanisms and constraints (Sayer 1992). This acknowledgement of structural mechanisms and the interplay with human agency draws links between realism and 'structuration theory' (see Cohen 1989; Stones 2001). As Cohen states:

Structuration theory is thoroughly consistent with this post-positivist view of the nature and objectives of ontological insights. The structurationist ontology is addressed exclusively to the constitutive potentials of social life: the generic human capacities and fundamental conditions through which the course and outcomes of social processes and events are generated and shaped in the manifold way in which this can occur. (Cohen 1989; 17)

The realist approach, therefore, offers a view of the world that acknowledges the interplay between internal (subjective) features of action and external (objective) features of society (Layder 1994) and the influences that each have on the other. In epistemological terms, this means that realism goes beyond focusing purely on either perceptions (as with interpretivism) or observations (as with positivism) to explore the relationships between people and their social world.

A realist perspective on social science research provides a useful perspective from which to undertake data collection and analysis through an understanding of factors relating to human agency and perceptions, while also acknowledging potentially unobservable structural factors that constrain and frame the way that the world is understood and interacted with. As such, realism has allowed me to use *inductive* processes of interpretation to explore individual's unique perceptions and experiences (Sarantakos 1994), while using *deductive* elements of theory (Sarantakos 1994) to build a fuller picture of the social setting being researched. As Cloke (1991; 143) notes:

... just because the access of individuals to their own social worlds cannot but take place through their own interpretive processes, it cannot be assumed that interpretation and understanding are all that exist in society. Structures in society are produced and reproduced partly through the interpretations given to them by human agents, but they are also produced and reproduced by deeper causes, which are not always recognised by these agents.

Through a 'critical realist' perspective (Bhaskar 1989) the researcher is argued to be politically engaged when studying the social world (Williams & May 1996). As such, this perspective informs my approach to researching Social Inclusion Partnerships within their policy and practice setting. The dualism between structures and individual perceptions outlined above provides a useful framework for understanding the policy setting within which this research takes place (Gilbert 2001). For example, at a structural level, policy and practice take place within a specific political and social setting within which a range of potentially unobservable mechanisms exist, for example, in relation to power, ownership of information, and unspoken political agendas. This is particularly pertinent within a policy based study, where the policy rhetoric of 'inclusion' may, as was argued in Chapter 2, disguise or distract from the underlying motivation of the policy programme, whether people expressly perceive or acknowledge this distinction between rhetoric and reality.

Developing the Research Focus

Selecting Qualitative Methods: A case study approach

It was noted in Chapter 1 that the central aim of this study has been to compare the approaches taken within the case study SIPs, one area-based and one thematic, to work towards achieving social inclusion of young people. Because of the nature of the questions of interest (see Chapter 1), a qualitative study offered the most appropriate approach to investigating these issues, while a case study approach allowed in-depth exploration of the study area. This 'intensive' approach is argued by Sayer (1992) to offer particular benefits in relation to realist influenced research as: "the primary research questions concern how some

causal process works out in a particular case or limited number of cases” (p.242); thus allowing potential to study individual agents within their causal contexts (Sayer 1992). Given that a realist perspective means identifying a set of causal relations and looking for explanations for the production of certain events, qualitative methods facilitate this process; quantitative or ‘extensive’ approaches, on the other hand, lack this explanatory element (Sayer 1992).

The decision to pursue a case study approach was further reinforced by the opportunities afforded to use different data collection tools to gather information. As Robson (1994; 146) states, a case study methodology is “a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence”. A case study approach, therefore, offers a useful way of gathering detailed information on the cases in question, and through this ‘triangulation’ of methods, and of data sources (in particular through interviews with different groups) can allow greater reliability of data through one source of data reinforcing the information collected through other methods of respondents (Robson 1994).

This multi-method approach has a number of advantages over other forms of data collection and these justify its choice within this research project. The first is an ability to provide detailed information around the specific cases; the resultant ‘thick description’ (Guba & Lincoln 1981) that can be provided, helps to understand complex themes and theoretical issues within a limited number of cases. The second advantage of the case study approach is that it allows detailed analysis of the political, economic and social framework surrounding the case studies (Marinetto 1999), further reinforcing the relevance of a realist perspective in this study. The third advantage, in particular for small-scale doctoral studies of this type, is that a small number of case studies provide a manageable way of collecting detailed (and potentially rich) data with only limited resources (Bell 1993).

The main limitation of a case study approach, with its focus on qualitative methods, is the lack of ability to generalise the data collected. As Sayer (1992; 243) notes: “actual concrete patterns and contingent relations are unlikely to be ‘representative’, average or generalisable”. That said, Williams (2000) argues that generalisation within qualitative studies is possible if the focus is not on statistical generalisation, which assume that all cases are the same as the sample, but on creating ‘moderatum’ generalisations (Williams 2000; 215). As Bryman (1988; 90) explains: “the issue should be couched in terms of generalizability of cases to theoretical positions rather than to populations or universes”. Thus, ‘extrapolations’ (Schwandt 1997; 58) can be made where in-depth analysis of particular cases are assumed to apply within wider

social settings using ‘speculative generalisations’ (Williams 2000; 212). For the purposes of this study, being informed by this concept of extrapolation, within a realist perspective, offers a framework through which to link the deductive elements of literature and policy analysis with the inductive elements of data collection, and through this to suggest wider theoretical and policy implications of the practices evident within the case study SIPs.

Progressing the Research

There were three key inputs to progressing this research between its start in October 1999 and its completion in 2003; each of which are discussed more fully below. The first stage involved an extensive literature and document review, which was to assist with understanding the research field, identify the central research questions and provide information to inform the selection of, while also building a picture of, the case study SIPs. The second stage involved data collection relating to the case study SIPs in order to build a picture of their practices and the perceptions of those involved with them. The third stage of the research involved the data analysis and writing of the thesis. Each of these three stages of the research are explored in detail in order to provide a fuller picture of the approach that was taken and the objectives of using these methods.

It is worth highlighting here that, while there is an attempt to draw a time-line during which particular events occurred, this is not to suggest that each element of the study occurred discretely from the others. For example, as will be noted below, the collection of documentary evidence on the case study SIPs was undertaken at key stages of the research: to build a picture of their priorities, to gather background information on their work during the fieldwork stages, and to clarify their progress over time when undertaking the final stages of analysis. Thus, while there were elements of the research that occurred at discrete points in time, notably the primary data collection, there was also inevitably an overlap between activities. As fits with a realist perspective, this also allowed movement between theory and empirical data, and back again as analysis of the data evolved.

Stage One: Setting the Scene

Literature/Policy Review

In developing this research in the early stages, the aim was to get a picture of the setting within which this study was occurring. This involved firstly reviewing the theoretical and policy documentation that was available in order to understand the contextual and theoretical debates that would inform the research questions taken forward. There were two elements to this literature/document review. Firstly, there was an extensive literature and policy

documentation published on social exclusion (presented in Chapter 2). Secondly, literature and policy documents relating to the theoretical and policy context of debates on urban policy leading up to the introduction of the SIP programme was also reviewed (presented in Chapter 3).

Selecting the Case Study SIPs

Having undertaken the literature and policy review, the next task was to gather a fuller picture of the SIP programme as this was emerging in practice in order to select the SIPs that would be involved in the study. To inform this process, unpublished data from the Scottish Executive was accessed which provided information on the number, location and focus taken by the 47 SIPs that received funding from April 1999¹. This data, which was presented in Chapter 4, provided a picture of the SIP programme and informed the selection of the case study SIPs. Based on this information, three issues steered the decision over which SIPs to involve in the study.

First, given the limited resources available within a doctoral research study, to facilitate manageability this could inevitably only be a small-scale study. A small-scale study would also be consistent with a realist perspective, given the emphasis on 'intensive' rather than 'extensive' data collection. Thus, the decision was made that only two SIPs would be involved and that both would be new SIPs that had received funding from April 1999, rather than those that had converted from Programme for Partnership. This meant that both SIPs would be at the same stage in their development; a decision made in order to facilitate comparison.

Second, it was agreed that the study would focus on Glasgow. This was partly a pragmatic choice, as Glasgow was the city where I was studying and to conduct fieldwork there would minimise fieldwork costs. However, in addition there was also a practical issue in that, as was noted in Chapter 4, Glasgow contains by far the largest number of SIPs. As it was decided that both SIPs should be based in the same locality in order to increase ease of comparison, Glasgow offered the largest choice of thematic and area-based SIPs from which to make a localised selection.

Third, the specific decision to choose Drumchapel SIP (as the area-based SIP) and the Big Step (as the thematic SIP) was made based on the evidence, presented in Chapter 4, that most of the thematic SIPs were concerned with young people. With that focus in mind, and its

¹ This consisted of data on the focus of the SIPs (whether area based or thematic), the priorities for their work, the size of the population covered by the SIP, the number of years funding was provided for and funding allocations over the period 1998 to 2001/02.

relevance to the wider policy concern with young people that was noted in Chapter 2, this meant that the youth focus of the Big Step made this a natural choice. From that, analysis of Glasgow area-based SIP priorities showed that only Drumchapel SIP and Greater Pollok SIP were concerned with youth issues as part of their area focus. The selection of Drumchapel SIP was made, again, on pragmatic grounds, as the partnership manager was known to my academic department and was willing to facilitate access to the SIP.

Having selected the case study SIPs, one further stage in the document analysis was undertaken before taking forward the fieldwork. In addition, to the documentation provided which outlined the overarching focus of the 47 SIPs, as a central component of their application for SIP status, each SIP had produced a 'strategy document'² which outlined their aims and intended approach, as well as a range of other contextual information relating to the structures of the partnerships and funding requested. Having this information prior to entering the field both allowed fuller understanding of the focus of the case study SIPs, and also provided a contextual picture that would assist with later analysis of the practices of the case study SIPs at the time of this study (when the SIPs were between 18 months and 2½ years into their funding cycle). Details of this stage in the research are presented in Chapter 6.

Gaining Access to the SIPs

Having, in principle, chosen the two SIPs to take part, formal access was still to be agreed. During the decision-making over which SIPs to select, informal contact was made with both of the SIP partnership managers in order to request that the SIP partners may allow me to undertake the research. Both partnership managers had agreed that they would be willing to facilitate access to the SIPs, and to act as gatekeepers, but that it would be the SIP partners that would make the final decision over whether access would be allowed. Once the request was made, the partners on both SIP Boards agreed access. At this stage, it was confirmed that the partnership managers would function as the gatekeepers in accessing the SIPs.

The role of the partnership managers as gatekeepers was integral to my ongoing contact with the case study SIPs. This allowed me access to SIP documentation, contact with SIP partners and access to meetings and other SIP activities. This gatekeeper role, therefore, was valuable in facilitating the flow of this study in terms of access to the partners, to information and,

² More is said on this process in Chapter 6. In summary, after inviting expressions of interest from potential SIPs, those that were being considered for SIP funding were then invited to submit full Implementation Plans, which would serve as the strategic plan for the SIPs and which their progress would be measured against on an annual basis. It is these documents which inform the discussion presented in Chapter 6.

perhaps most importantly, provided me with an informal point of contact with the SIPs over the period of the research.

Stage Two: Progressing the fieldwork

Having clarified the questions of interest and identified the case study SIPs that would provide the empirical data, the second stage of the research (occurring mainly between October 2000 and September 2001) involved collecting further information on the case study SIPs in order to build a 'rich' picture of the practices within them. This involved:

- analysis of SIP annual reports;
- interviews with SIP stakeholders and 'experts';
- observation of SIP meetings/events.

Each of these methods are reflected upon in order to clarify the intended aims and approach taken, as well as the strengths and limitations that emerge from these methods.

Documentary Evidence

Aims

In addition to the background context that was provided through reviewing the SIPs' Implementation Plans, the SIP annual reports (published each year in June, starting in June 2000) were reviewed as part of the case study analysis. Throughout the course of data collection and analysis, this data source helped to frame my understanding of the progress of the Partnerships over time. As such, the annual reports provided a useful source of readily available data on the SIPs at various stages of the research from starting in late 1999 until 2002 when undertaking analysis and writing up.

Approach

SIP annual reports for the period April 1999-March 2002 were reviewed as an integral part of the data collection process. In total six annual reports were reviewed:

- Drumchapel SIP: annual reports for 1999/2000, 2000/01, 2001/02
- the Big Step: annual reports for 1999/2000, 2000/01, 2001/02

Strengths

The benefits of this documentary source relate to two issues. First, having this data is a useful way of gathering information quickly and easily about the SIPs and so prevented me using time in interviews to gather descriptive information about the SIPs. Second, analysis of annual reports over time assists with understanding the progress made by the SIPs. Thus, by

following the evolution of the SIPs over this three-year period from their original Implementation Plan (discussed in Chapter 6) to their third annual report (to March 2002) it is possible to see where changes that have occurred.

Limitations

Inevitably, these reports only publish what the SIP wish to report about their activities. The potential limitations of this are two-fold. First, the reports tend to focus on what has been done in a relatively unproblematic way. This is unsurprising given that the reports are going to their funder (the Scottish Executive) and, therefore, will promote the successes and achievements. However, for my purposes it limited the value of these documents to merely information sources on what was being done, while reading between the lines for what was not being done. Second, these documents only report on what activities the Partnership has taken part in, they thus do not allow access to what partners think about the work programme or how things are being done. This method therefore only serves to support other approaches, in this case interviews and observation within SIPs.

Interviews

Interviewing is a widely used method of data collection (Fielding 1993). While a range of approaches to interviewing are available, from very open unstructured dialogue to very formal clearly defined questioning administered in a systematic and ordered fashion (Cook & Crang 1995), neither of these extremes provide the opportunity to explore the deductive elements of theory-testing alongside the inductive elements of individual perceptions. Again, a realist perspective on research means that semi-structured interviews are the best way of allowing the opportunity to discuss and explore the theoretical issues of interest, while not precluding the views of the respondent on issues that they identify as of relevance to the topic.

Using this semi-structured approach, interviews were undertaken with a range of stakeholders, including those involved with the two case study SIPs and a range of 'experts' who were able to provide wider context on the policy surrounding the case study SIPs. A total of 52 respondents were interviewed between October 2000 and May 2001³ with all interviews tape-recorded and fully transcribed⁴. Interviews were the main data collection tool in terms of primary data to inform this study. The documentary evidence mentioned above frames this

³ While this timetable is accurate in terms of the 52 main interviews, there are two additional sets of interviews that are also discussed in this section: key informant interviews with partnership managers in July 2000 and second interviews with partnership managers in September 2001.

⁴ More will be said on the use of the data collected through interviews and other methods later in this chapter.

through descriptive information about the activities and priorities of the SIPs, while the observations, discussed later in this chapter, support and clarify the data collected in interview. There were several discrete groups interviewed throughout the course of the fieldwork and at key stages, each of these is now discussed.

Key Informant Interviews with Partnership Managers

Aims

As part of the preliminary work undertaken to build information on the case study SIPs before formal fieldwork started in October 2000, key informant interviews were undertaken with the two partnership managers in July 2000. These served to provide a background picture of the case study SIPs in terms of their approach and the progress that made during their first year of practice⁵. Having identified a number of research questions at this stage through the literature review and documentary analysis undertaken, this discussion allowed me to test my questions for relevance. From this I modified and developed my interview schedule before starting data collection in October 2000. The information provided by the partnership managers at this stage also allowed me to incorporate further issues that I had not previously identified, but which were pertinent to the work of the case study SIPs.

Approach

A semi-structured interview was undertaken around my research themes. This became an open discussion exploring issues I thought were relevant and others which were identified through the information the partnership managers provided. At this stage of the research I did not tape record our discussion, preferring instead to take notes of main themes and ideas that emerged from this setting. The decision not to record these key informant interviews was made for two reasons. Firstly, the aim was to gather background information, much of which would be descriptive, so I did not require a transcript. Secondly, I wanted to offer an opportunity to discuss issues informally. The partnership managers were also informed at this time that they would be interviewed formally at a later date as part of the data collection involving staff and partners within the case study SIPs.

Strengths

This initial key informant role played by partnership managers was invaluable in allowing me to gather detailed information on the issues of importance within these SIPs. Talking informally with them about the SIPs provided richer understanding of the SIPs than the

documentary evidence had been able to. In addition, 'off the record' comments on the particular dynamics within these SIPs, notably around partner relations and their impact on the SIPs, were also highlighted which, although confidential, helped me to understand the setting I would be researching.

Limitations

In the course of our discussions, the partnership managers inevitably raised issues of relevance to my research. This being a preliminary confidential discussion meant I was not in a position to use this information. The main problem this raised was, when they were interviewed as part of the main interview data collection, we had to go back over ground covered at this earlier discussion. This seemed an inefficient way to collect information, and had I taped the key informant interview we would not have needed to repeat this discussion. Having said that, I felt that the key informant interview should be an information gathering exercise that allowed confidential discussion and clarification of background information. Overall, then, the limits of not taping these interviews was outweighed by the opportunity afforded to get a clearer picture of the SIPs' practice before formally undertaking data collection with SIP partners and staff.

Interviews with Case Study Staff and Partners

Aims

These interviews served as the principal form of data collection used to answer the majority of the research questions, specifically those relating to the role and practice of SIPs. Agency partners, SIP staff and community representatives were the best people to inform me on many of these issues due to their proximity to the SIPs. They could also provide perspectives on the SIPs role relating to involving young people in the SIPs, which were compared with the views of young people on this issue. The majority of these 37 interviews were conducted between October 2000 and February 2001.

Approach

All interviews involved a semi-structured approach as outlined previously. While all respondents were interviewed using the schedule outlined in Appendix 5, there was a range of representation amongst this group. The following three headings are given in order to present the data from different groups within the data chapters that follow:

⁵ Both SIPs had been operational for about a year at this time.

- agency partners
- community representatives
- SIP officers

The latter two groupings are relatively unproblematic. However, ‘agency partners’ is used to refer to representatives from a range of public sector settings, as corresponds with the membership of the SIP Boards⁶. Later discussions on the ethical use of interview data explain the reasons for using this term to refer to a wide range of public sector representatives, where it is argued that this approach offers an appropriate level of anonymity of individual views when presenting quotes from respondents. How this approach responds to the need to occasionally identify the perspective from which the view comes, rather than from which SIP the view came, is also explained in that discussion.

While the same questions were asked of all three groupings, there was awareness that within the overall grouping some respondents would have particular strengths relating to specific issues relevant to their role or perspective. Interviews with these groups took on average between 60-90 minutes depending on the availability of the respondents and the level of detail that they were able to give on the issues of relevance to the study.

Figure 5.1: Interviews with Case Study Staff and Partners

	the Big Step	Drumchapel SIP
Board members (from agencies)	11	6
Sub-group members (from agencies)	3	4
Community/voluntary sector representatives		5
Staff	5	3
Total	19	18

These participants were the first to be interviewed. I initially contacted every adult member of the Partnership Board from both Partnerships (the interviews with young people are discussed separately). Only one Board member from one SIP was not able to take part. Figure 5.1 above outlines the details relating to the interviewees in this group. Because of the larger agency representation on the Board at the Big Step compared with Drumchapel SIP, the number of agency respondents within this SIP was greater. However, in place of this there were a number of community/local voluntary sector representatives in Drumchapel SIP.

⁶ Chapter 6 provides more information on the representations on the SIP Boards at the time of this study.

This wide range of SIP stakeholders was interviewed in order to provide views from a range of perspectives relevant to the representation of those on the SIP Boards, while also including a small number of respondents who were involved in the SIPs but within the sub-groups⁷. The decision over who should be selected to participate from the sub-groups was partly influenced by advice from the partnership managers, where they felt that particular individuals would have something useful to contribute to the study. However, this 'purposive' sampling method was also informed by my attendance at meetings where I met people that I felt would offer an interesting perspective to the study. For example, agencies that were not present at the Board level or particular individuals who seemed critical of the SIPs were invited to give their views. Within each SIP, three individuals from the sub-groups were interviewed. Between the two SIPs a further three individuals were invited to participate but declined to do so⁸. The reasons for only selecting a small number of respondents from the sub-groups relate in part to the fact that many people who were selected through their membership of the SIP Board were also present within the sub-groups, which meant that their views had already been collected. Further, it became evident that the same views were emerging from the sub-group members as from those on the SIP Boards, thus there reached a saturation point where no significant new data was collected.

Strengths

Overall, these interviews provided a significant amount of the data relevant to understanding the work of the SIPs. A number of central and emerging issues were explored and the differing perspectives between different partners were both identified and investigated. The role performed by partners and staff and their individual beliefs about the positioning and potential achievements of the Partnerships were explored through the interview setting. The semi-structured approach also allowed the differing interests and areas of expertise of various participants to be addressed through not imposing too strict a structure on the questioning. I believe that each of the three types of respondent in this section added a different perspective on the issues investigated. The realist position offers a useful framework for analysis of the data collected from these different groups through a recognition of the external mechanisms that exist and frame the particular perceptions of particular groups.

⁷ As is noted in Chapter 6 both SIPs had sub-groups that took forward the thematic priorities of the SIPs. The respondents from this group were all agency representatives, but from agencies not represented on the SIP Board or from a different part of the organisation e.g. different parts of Glasgow City Council.

⁸ The reasons for this related to lack of availability e.g. moving on to another post, or too busy/not willing.

Limitations

There was no particular difficulty or limitation of using this approach beyond the usual limitations of interviewing in terms of the subjectivity of respondents and the resultant effect on the data collected (Bryman 2001). The limits of this method were balanced by having different methods of data collection to call up to support and reinforce the information collected from specific sources. Indeed, these interviews were integral to understanding the work of the case study SIPs and the perceptions of the individuals who were participating in this setting.

Group Interviews with Young People

Aims

Involving young people in the data collection was an integral element of the study, given their relevance to the focus of this research. Having asked adult respondents their views on the SIPs, young people's views were also sought on this issue. Further, as adult SIP respondents had been asked their views on the involvement of young people, it was appropriate to also give young people the chance to present their views on these issues.

The interviews with young people took place towards the end of the fieldwork period (between February and April 2001). The reason for this was that I hoped that some of what I had learnt about the SIPs from talking to partners and staff, and from observing SIP activities (see below for more on this), would inform how I went about asking questions of young people.

Approach

Taking advice from youth workers involved with both partnerships, it was agreed that I would interview young people in a group rather than individually. The reasons given for this approach were that they would potentially feel more comfortable about this form of meeting and it would allow me to gather the views of more young people easily (Barbour & Kitzinger 1999). Figure 5.2 (overleaf) outlines general details on the four group interviews undertaken with young people within the two SIPs.

The young people interviewed were those who took part in Board meetings or were present in other formal settings in the SIPs. The small number of respondents in this group, 12 in total, relates to the small number of young people who were participating in these SIPs at the time of data collection. At that time, two young people participated in the Drumchapel SIP Board and between three and four at the Big Step Board; all of whom were invited to take part

in the interviews. In relation to the other youth groups associated with the SIPs, at the time of data collection the Big Step had only recently restarted their youth group so the number of young people participating was still low (approximately six or seven, most of whom were also involved with the SIP Board). In Drumchapel SIP, the youth sub-group had a relatively large membership of young people (about 15) but the number that participated regularly was lower (around 6 at each meeting, not including the two young people from the SIP Board)⁹. The number of young people who opted-in to the study reflects those willing to be interviewed. Issues relating to representation in terms of age and gender were not directly relevant to the selection of young people as the sample number was so low. The age variation between the SIPs noted in Figure 5.2 is explained in Chapter 10 when discussing youth involvement in the case study SIPs.

Figure 5.2: Group Interviews with Young People

SIP	Group	No. of respondents	Gender	Age
The Big Step	SIP Board	3	Male	20-25
Drumchapel SIP	SIP Board	2	Female	18-19
The Big Step	Youth Group	2	Female	18-21
Drumchapel SIP	Youth sub-group	5	Mixed	14-15

The questions asked of young people differed slightly from those asked of adult respondents inside the SIPs (see Appendix 6 for an outline of the topic guide). This was partly in response to a wish to explore slightly different issues than those asked of adults. For example, I was less concerned with getting their perspective on the framework for working (e.g. around strategic working practices) and more concerned with what they perceived as gaining from their involvement in the SIPs and what they thought their role was within that setting. This data was intended to offer the perspective of young people on their involvement in the SIPs (an issue which is explored in Chapter 10). This approach was also intended to ensure that the questions asked of young people were those that young people might feel able to answer and which were relevant to their involvement in the SIPs.

⁹ Further discussion on the number of young people participating in the SIPs is presented in Chapter 10.

Strengths

The young people who took part in the interviews provided a valuable perspective on their involvement and perceptions of the case study SIPs that balanced the adult views and provided a particular perspective of value to this study. For example, young people did not always hold the same view of the SIPs as that expressed by adults. These interviews were generally shorter, around 40 minutes rather than around 60-90 minutes as with staff and partners. However, this seemed an appropriate time to cover the issues of interest to the young people and for my purposes. Overall, having this perspective in the study has enriched the data, in particular relating to young people's perspectives on the youth involvement agenda (discussed further in Chapter 10).

Limitations

The main limitation of this method came from the trade-off made in deciding to pursue interviews in a group setting with this group rather than one-to-one, as was the case with adult respondents. While one-to-one interviews may have offered more detailed information from individual young people, the general feeling was that young people would find the group setting more relaxed and easier to engage with (Barbour & Kitsinger 1999). It also served to make the discussion flow easily. Thus, regardless of the trade-off made, the benefits of speaking to young people in a group in terms of them having mutual support was felt to be most beneficial for their involvement.

Interviews with External Practitioners and Policy-Makers

Aims

In addition to gathering views from people inside the case study SIPs, I felt it was important to get views on the SIP policy agenda more generally from a number of people beyond the two case study SIPs. The aim of so doing was to allow wider understanding of the context of the policy and practice setting within which the case study SIPs were operating. Some respondents in this group were also in a position to offer information on the policy and practice developments leading up to the introduction of SIPs in 1999 and therefore were able to offer useful historical context on this policy programme.

Approach

The decision on who to invite to participate in the element of the data collection was in part informed by suggestions from academic colleagues in the Department of Urban Studies and by my non-academic supervisor within the Scottish Executive. It is within this particular

cohort that the purposive sampling approach was of most value as it was important to select respondents who would have an interest and information on the policy context of social inclusion policy in Scotland and/or involvement in the SIP agenda to inform and widen the scope of this study. The 15 interviews with this group of respondents largely took place towards the end of the main fieldwork period (between February and May 2001). In so doing, the intention was that these interviews would contextualise and enrich the information that I had gathered from inside the case study SIPs. The choice over who to involve in this part of the study was partly motivated by a wish to gather more specialist information that was not widely available, and was also intended to provide information on the wider context within which the case study SIPs were operating. The list in Figure 5.3 sets out the overall representation within this group.

Due to the expertise of many of these respondents, the questions explored in interview varied widely depending on the contributions that each respondent was able to make to the study. The same overall themes were explored in terms of the policy setting of SIPs, but these interviews did not focus in the main on the specific work programme of the two case study SIPs as most respondents were not in a position to discuss these particular SIPs. Rather the contribution of this group to the study was to fill gaps in knowledge not available inside the case study SIPs and to further understand the policy context within which SIPs were working. Most of these interviews lasted between 60-90 minutes.

Figure 5.3: Interviews with External Representatives

Organisation/Sector represented:	No. of representatives
Scottish Executive (senior civil servants)	4
Scottish Social Inclusion Network (SSIN) members ¹⁰	3
Glasgow Alliance (officers)	2
Glasgow City Council (senior official)	1
Other ‘experts’ ¹¹	3
Other (youth focused) SIPs (partnership managers)	2

¹⁰ SSIN is an advisory group of external ‘experts’ who work to the Scottish Executive. The SSIN was set up in 1998 to advise on the development of social exclusion policy and was responsible for selection of the SIPs that received funding from 1999. The 3 respondents from the SSIN were all from voluntary sector organisations, two national and one locally based.

¹¹ This grouping included the views of individuals from a Scottish think-tank, a national young people’s voluntary sector organisation and a Scottish agency working to encourage links between SIPs and the private sector. In the data chapters, these individuals are identified by the title ‘other expert’ rather than a more specific title. To name the organisations would potentially identify the individuals involved.

The representation of these respondents within these headings is intended to strike the balance between illustrating the organisational perspective being given and the wish to maintain a level of anonymity of the individuals who participated in the study. As such, the quotations in the data chapters from these groups are cited under these general headings in order to reduce potential for identification of individuals.

Strengths

The gains of these interviews far exceeded what I expected from them. While I undertook this element of the research expecting to gather useful information, the expertise of many of these respondents on previous urban policy programmes (notably New Life Partnerships) and the wider social inclusion policy context (notably relating to Scotland) provided much richer and more detailed information than anticipated. That the information and expertise held by some respondents in this sample was not widely available, and certainly is not published, became increasingly clear as these interviews progressed.

Speaking to many of these participants after the other interviews had been largely completed meant that I had a much clearer idea of the role SIPs performed; I therefore found it easier to see how wider perspectives fitted within this framework. I also think having the fuller knowledge of the case study SIPs in place meant that I was better able to explore complex issues with this group in a way I would not have had the same level of knowledge to do earlier in the fieldwork period.

Limitations

There were no limitations with this method other than those noted previously as relating to the general limitations of interviewing as a data collection method. Indeed, as noted above, the rich data collected through this method added significant levels of relevant information to understanding the wider policy setting within which the case study SIPs were working. However, one issue that did emerge more with this group than with others in the interview setting related to the use of ‘off the record’ comments and, on occasion, providing further clarification on potentially controversial subjects once the interview had ended and the tape was turned off. While some agency representatives within the SIPs did similarly, this group were much more inclined to provide this type of information.

The reasons for this were clearly related to the positions held by some respondents and them holding strong views on the political or social setting being studied but not always wishing to be recorded expressing their opinion. While this information was valuable to have, and often provided confirmation of some of my theoretical speculations about the policy setting, I was

not able to expressly use the data given i.e. to quote these types of comments. Thus, while they have informed my understanding, they are not available as empirical evidence of the perceptions held by many of the respondents in this group. Nonetheless, these views have allowed clarification and confirmation of my understanding of the policy environment within which SIPs exist and which frame the views held by respondents. Again, here realism offers a useful philosophical position within which to understand the context of this study as these views often confirmed my understanding of events, even where respondents inside SIPs did not identify issues of importance to their work or perceptions of SIPs.

Follow-Up Interviews with Partnership Managers

Aims

In addition to undertaking all of the interviews noted above, I also returned to re-interview the case study SIP partnership managers in September 2001. The aim of so doing was to get an update and clarification on progress made in the SIPs during the year that I had been gathering empirical data on them. In addition, this method also allowed me to follow up specific questions that had emerged during initial analysis of data collected throughout the year.

Approach

As previously, a semi-structured, recorded interview was undertaken with both SIP managers. Given that these interviews served to update the progress and work of the SIPs, they were more focused, shorter (both less than 60 minutes) and more reflective of changes and developments rather than offering accounts of SIP practice. The main reason for returning to speak to these respondents at this stage was to clarify and develop the detail of the data I had previously gathered. As partnership managers, they were in possession of most of the information of relevance to this research and consequently were the best source for checking details and updating my knowledge of SIP practice.

Strengths

The most beneficial outcome from this second interview was that I was able to return to the field and get some clarification on a few minor points that had been unclear from initial interviews with SIP partners. Being able to follow up points in this way allowed me to gather more information while also helping my understanding of particular issues.

Limitations

There were no specific limitations of this aspect of the data collection.

Observation of Formal Meetings and Events

Aims

In addition to the document analysis and the interviews undertaken to gather data on the case study SIPs, the decision was made to undertake observation of SIP meetings in order to gather a picture of the work taking place in these settings. There were a number of reasons for choosing to observe SIP meetings in addition to the other methods. The first reason was that this offered a greater understanding of how the Partnerships worked in terms of what happened at the different meetings and who attended. The second reason was an awareness that this would be a way of increasing my profile within the Partnerships, This, I felt, might be useful for widening the involvement of respondents beyond the SIP Boards. The third reason was that this forum allowed a chance to see how the SIPs operated rather than relying solely on interview data to gather a picture of the processes at work in the SIPs. This method, therefore, offered further 'triangulation' of data collection methods to inform my understanding of the case study SIPs.

Selection

The selection of which meetings to attend is worth acknowledgement.¹² Firstly, there was a pragmatic issue about which meetings it was possible for me to attend given the time I had available and the frequency of these meetings (most occurring every 6-8 weeks). Based on those factors, I arranged to observe two Board meetings at each SIP¹³ and each of the sub-group meetings once (a total of 9 meetings¹⁴). In addition, I also arranged to attend the Youth Implementation Group at Drumchapel SIP twice¹⁵. The timing for when to attend meetings was partly related to when the meetings were scheduled. Each being on average every two months limited the number of opportunities to attend. In addition, I also tried to spread them to reduce the impact of the time-commitment they took up. For this reason the sub-group meetings of each SIP were attended over a five month period between January and May 2001, with around two or three sub-group meetings from each SIP attended each two-month cycle. Given that I was still undertaking interviews at this time, I had to try and fit this activity in

¹² See Chapter 6 for details of the formal partnership settings within the case study SIPs

¹³ Once at the start of the fieldwork (Oct. 2000) and towards the middle of the data collection (Jan/Feb 2001)

¹⁴ Four at the Big Step (employment, health and accommodation working group and a temporary working group on 'colleges/education') and five at Drumchapel SIP (housing, health, education, funding, economic Implementation Groups).

¹⁵ Attended in January 2001 and again in March 2001.

alongside the other commitments on my time (see limitations for more on the time commitment involved in this activity).

In addition to these planned meetings, I was also invited to attend a number of other special events that the SIPs conducted during this time. These were mainly meetings to discuss plans for taking forward the SIPs' work¹⁶. However, in addition, I also attended a conference held by the Big Step to gather views from young people on leaving care and their support needs related to this. By also undertaking these activities, I attended a total of 20 SIP meetings/events between October 2000 and May 2001. Details relating to these are listed in Figure 5.4 below.

Figure 5.4: SIP Meetings/Events Observed

	Drumchapel SIP	the Big Step
Board meetings	2	2
Sub-Group meetings	5	4
Youth Implementation Group	2	
SIP strategy meetings	2	2
Youth consultation		1

Approach

Observation as a data collection tool can take many forms from very structured non-participant observation to ethnographic studies involving researchers immersing themselves in the lives of those studied (Robson 1994). By observing partnership meetings I was aware that I was to some degree participating just by being in the same room as the group being observed, as it is likely that my being there constituted some form of participation, albeit a passive one (Hayes 2001). However, by remaining silent and not interacting within the observational setting the aim was to maintain as passive a presence as was possible, thus allowing me to observe the proceedings taking place.

A set of themes were identified that were to focus my observations on those issues of relevance to the study, including who attended the meetings, what their focus was and how young people were involved (see Appendix 7 for fuller details). However, some room was made for noting emergent issues that had not been planned for. The same set of issues was

¹⁶ These strategy meetings were motivated by a range of factors related to developing the work of the SIPs and planning how to progress their activities. The two I attended at Drumchapel SIP were in November 2000 and in April 2001 and the two in the Big Step were in October 2000 and in May 2001.

considered when observing SIP events and SIP meetings. While the forum of the SIPs events was often less formal and more discursive e.g. discussing ideas over how to take forward the SIP strategies, I was still able to draw out issues of relevance which would inform this study, albeit in a different setting.

Strengths

While the main benefit of observation was expected to be a 'triangulation' of the other methods, what emerged was a far more important gain than I had anticipated. Given that I was observing meetings where people I had interviewed, or planned to interview, were present, I became aware of two aspects of this connection between the observations and interviews. The first was that, having observed one Board meeting for each of the SIPs before interviewing the Board members, the data I received in interview from those who had been in attendance at the meeting I observed was qualitatively different. Notably, they were able to provide contextual illustrations, using the meeting I had been at (or the individuals that were present), to make their point about the practice in the SIP. In some cases, this seemed to result in a more relaxed engagement with me, and with the questions, than was the case with those respondents that I met at interview having not met them at SIP meetings or events.

In addition, observation also allowed me to get more from my interview data through better understanding of the practices within the SIPs. For example, when comments were made on individuals and practices within the SIPs I had an understanding of the majority of the references being made. For my part, I was also able to use my understanding of the meetings to probe people for information. If required, I could use examples of events observed in meetings to probe a particular line of questioning. This was particularly useful to raise issues around the practice of the SIPs e.g. around youth involvement where I observed few young people in attendance at meetings and could note this and ask for their views on this issue. Thus, this triangulation of methods provided value in interviews as a way of confirming, checking or refuting information from observational settings.

Overall, I felt that I gained a much richer sense of the SIPs from having observed their practices as well as having the interview and documentary evidence.

Limitations

Two issues emerged relating to the limitations of this data source. The first related to the ongoing contact with the SIPs through attending meetings and events. What was interesting was the informal contact facilitated by meeting some partners several times in different settings (events, meetings and interviews). However, through this ongoing contact, I was

brought into contact with respondents in quite informal contexts e.g. during breaks or while waiting to go into meetings. At these times, respondents often discussed their views on issues of relevance to the research, specifically on issues that they had not given views on in interview. The explanation for this is partly that my role as researcher in this informal setting seemed to be forgotten or overlooked. Thus, while my attendance in meetings may not have had any significant influence on the meeting itself, I was aware that my presence at these events did change overall how people engaged with me and what information I had access to. While having this information, in itself, may not be problematic, it did raise ethical issues about how I managed this information, in particular as it was not clear that it was intended that I use it for my research. Naturally, it would be difficult to avoid being influenced by this information, but I made the decision that I should not make explicit reference to information gathered in this way.

The second issue related to the time investment needed to attend these meetings relative to value added to the research from this data source. Indeed, many of the early meetings attended served to illustrate the procedural nature of some aspects of the work undertaken by the SIPs. While it was valuable to have an insight into this aspect of the work of the SIPs, it did raise questions about the need to spend a great deal of time observing meetings if they were not going to add significant detail to my understanding of their work. However, the subgroup meetings and other events attended provided a fuller picture of the work done by the SIPs, which to some extent served to increase the value of this data source. Overall, the gains made were sufficient to balance the time input through the supporting evidence that was provided which served to validate interview data and further enrich my understanding of the workings of the Partnerships through this prolonged contact with partners and the information they provided, both on and off the record.

Stage 3: Managing the Research Process

Having set out the picture relating to the development of the study and the collection of the range of secondary and primary data that has been used to take it forward, this final section outlines some of the more practical issues in managing the research through these data collection stages and beyond. Thus, attention here turns to issues around the exiting of the field, management and analysis of data, and ethical use of the interview data.

Exiting the Field

As was noted earlier, the majority of the primary data collection through interviews and observation of SIP activities was undertaken between October 2000 and May 2001. In

addition, a follow-up interview was undertaken with the case study SIP managers in September 2001 in order to check on progress of the SIPs and clarify points from early analysis of the data collected. This follow-up meeting also served a second purpose as it allowed an opportunity to formally check in with the partnership managers in their role as gatekeeper to inform them that the fieldwork stage of the study had ended and that I would be exiting the field from that point. While I had not been attending SIP events for approximately 3 months at this time, it, nonetheless, remained a courtesy to inform my gatekeepers of the progress of the research for two reasons. First, it allowed me to clarify and confirm that they would, at a later date, receive information on the findings of the research. Second, this formal exiting served both as a courtesy to the gatekeepers, having facilitated access to the SIPs throughout the previous year, while also, hopefully, easing the passage of the next researcher who may wish access to this setting.

Data Management & Analysis

The range of primary data collected throughout the fieldwork stage required management in order to allow effective analysis. In particular, the documentary evidence from annual reports that was provided over the three-year period from 2000-2002, along with the observation and interview data all required to be systematically ordered in order to assist with the process of data analysis.

The management and analysis of the documentary evidence involved systematic review of patterns reported over time, specifically relating to spending levels and progress towards achieving the SIPs objectives. From observation of SIP meetings and events, there were also notes that were organised and coded in a similar way to the interview transcripts (see below).

The most significant part of this management task involved the transcription and coding of the one-to-one interviews with the 52 adult respondents and the group interviews with the 12 young people. The task of recording and transcribing interviews was undoubtedly time-consuming. However, the advantages of this approach are worth noting. Firstly, the transcripts are useful for checking what we understand about the study topic. For example, Heritage (1984; 238) points out that:

The use of recorded data is an essential corrective to the limitations of intuition and recollection... it may be noted that because the data are available in 'raw' form, they can be re-used in a variety of investigations and can be re-examined in the context of new findings.

Full transcripts are, therefore, a useful way of maintaining an accurate record of events within an interview setting, and checking these over time as progress with the research is made.

However, this is only one of the advantages to transcribing interviews. Secondly, transcripts allow the researcher to accurately cite the views of those who took part in the study. By having a note of exact words used, quotations can be used to make a powerful case when presenting findings. Thirdly, the process of transcribing, if done by the researcher who undertakes the interview, allows a certain level of inter-action and reflection on the data through being able to revisit the discussion held and to consider the data again from a distance. Further, as May (1993; 106) states “any significant non-verbal gestures employed [by the interviewee] assist the researcher in becoming familiar with the data and nuances of each interview”. As such, being able to call upon an understanding of the context and the implications of what is said (and, indeed, what is not said) through revisiting the data assists with undertaking data analysis through its various stages.

Having transcribed the interviews, some regularity of process was necessary in order to ensure that the data was managed in a systematic way and the evidence was ordered to allow me to use it effectively to present and reflect on my findings at stages in the analysis. Thus, the interview transcripts and the observational notes were coded and grouped together in order to categorise the themes that emerged from data (Strauss 1987). The coding of interview data was undertaken using NUD*IST (a qualitative software tool) in order to manage the data collected. Notes from observational settings were also coded into this package to link up observational notes and interview data within the same coding frame. NUD*IST works as an analytical tool to help manage large amounts of data. As such, the process of coding data onto this software did assist with the analysis of data in terms of seeing trends in themes emerging from the data collected and how these linked to my theoretical understanding of the subject. Using NUD*IST therefore provided a focal point through which to undertake data analysis. However, as my theoretical position had been in part developed before entering the field and had thus influenced the topics I pursued questions on (Williams & May 1996), this inevitably meant there were a set of overarching themes that were clear in my mind when I began to put the data onto the software package. From coding of the interview and observational data, specific topics under these general themes were identified and the data was coded accordingly (see Appendix 8 for details).

It is worth stressing that data analysis was not a distinct stage in the research process. The idea that data analysis is something that occurs at a particular point in time after defining the research questions and undertaking the fieldwork (Robson 1994) is suggestive of an inductive process where researchers allow theory to emerge from data without reference to previous knowledge or theoretical influences, as within grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967).

However, it is not only difficult to pursue this purely inductive process in practice (Bryman 1988), but it is also contrary to the deductive epistemological position of realist research. Rather, data analysis has been an ongoing process throughout the data collection phase and beyond, with analysis involving a movement from theory to evidence and back to theory (Sayer 1992). As such, through the processes of data collection, management, coding and writing, analysis has been an ongoing activity that has seen the research evolve rather than moving through discrete and mutually exclusive stages.

Using the Interview Data Ethically

In addition to the activities involved in managing and analysing data collected, two ethical strands to the use of the interview data warrant further comment. The first relates to allowing respondents to comment on the transcripts of the interviews and the second relates to maintaining anonymity of individuals in the study. Turning first to the transcripts, in the interests of providing feedback to respondents¹⁷, I decided to offer all respondents a copy of the transcript from the interview. In doing so, this allowed respondents to keep a record of the discussion, as some people requested this type of information, and to allow them to check the accuracy of the data provided. In providing copies of the transcripts, respondents had the chance to clarify and contextualise information given, but not to withdraw the comments made. I did get comments back from a small number of respondents agreeing the content of the notes. In a small number of cases, there were errors in my notes, which, while often minor, was useful to have checked/clarified in order to increase the accuracy of the data.

Providing copies of transcripts did not involve any significant extra work, and did allow a useful dialogue with interviewees where there was a wish for this. However, the issue of anonymity did emerge as an issue of concern to some respondents, in particular with regard to how information provided in interview was to be attributed. In response to this, a commitment was made that where information provided in interview was quoted and attributed in a way that was likely to identify a particular individual, the individual would be asked permission before the quote was used in any publication. Only some respondents wished to take advantage of this checking exercise, while most were satisfied with assurances of anonymity. What is interesting about this issue is that there were particular types of respondents, notably the 'experts' (e.g. senior civil servants) who wished this level of control over the data they provided. This partly related to the sort of information that they were

¹⁷ See the Social Research Association (SRA 2002) ethical guidelines for suggestions on ways of allowing respondents access to data, this includes the potential to provide copies of transcripts for comment.

providing, but also seemed to relate to their previous experience of being interviewed, and their wish to take more control of the way their views were used. However, given the extra work involved in doing this, and the risk that some respondents may withdraw the quote, or amend it in such a way as to change its meaning, the intention in using the data has been to ensure anonymity of individuals.

With regard to maintaining individual anonymity, the particular difficulty that emerged was that there were a wide range of different types of respondent included in the study. To refer to all of the SIP respondents under the general banner of 'SIP partners' would have lost the relevance of the different perspectives of the different groups e.g. between local councillors, staff, or community representatives. However, while some groupings contained large enough numbers to not identify an individual, in some cases to name the perspective from which an individual was speaking would actually identify the individual. As the partner representation in the case study SIPs (outlined in Chapter 6) shows, this is the case for local councillors, where there were only two in Drumchapel SIP and one at the Big Step, and also for many public sector agencies e.g. Scottish Homes, Greater Glasgow Health Board and, indeed, officers from local authority departments. The decision, therefore, was made to refer to all public-sector representatives (including local councillors) as 'agency' partners, while other general groupings were made under the headings identified in the interview discussion earlier e.g. young people, senior civil servant, staff, SSIN members. While this sometimes loses the individual perspective given, it allows a suitable level of anonymity of data to allow the quotes to be used without identifying individuals. Another reason for choosing this approach was that, to a large extent, the views quoted under the banner of 'agency partner' related to their views on the SIPs rather than their perspective as a particular representative. However, where it seemed relevant that it was a local councillor or a particular agency making a comment, the quote was given without reference to the particular SIP represented, instead citing their status e.g. as 'local councillor'. In short, where it was necessary to know that the view came from a particular perspective, this was noted, but on other matters when it was more important to understand the perspective of the SIP overall, naming of the SIP took precedence over naming the representation from which the view was cited.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to provide an account of the methodological issues influencing the development and progress of this research throughout its various stages. In outlining these influences and practices, the intention has been to provide a picture of the stages gone through in progressing this research as well as illustration how each stage was

conducted. Of central importance to the way that this research has been undertaken was the development of the philosophical position taken. Thus, in taking this realist perspective, I was able to incorporate my understanding of the social world, developed through theoretical (deductive) influences, with empirical (inductive) data collection. In so doing, the use of a case study methodology focusing on two SIPs was intended to provide 'intensive' data, which could be used to explore wider complex social issues.

The different elements of the research, from the literature and policy review which informed the focus of the study and the particular questions explored, through to the specific methods employed to gather and manage data on the case study SIPs all contributed towards the overall picture that is presented within this thesis. As such, while the intention has been to present evidence on the methodological issues of importance to progressing this research, this discussion also serves to illustrate the overall development of the thesis. Thus, with this framework in place, Chapter 6 now turns attention to the specific context of this study by looking in more detail at the case study SIPs.

Chapter 6: The Case Study SIPs

Introduction

Turning attention now to the work of the case study SIPs, this chapter undertakes to review the planned work programme set out by the SIPs at the time of applying for funding. As part of the application process, to receive funding potential SIPs were expected to produce a 'strategy document' which set out their planned programme of work and a range of other contextual information that would assist the Scottish Office to establish a picture of the intended work and approach taken by the SIPs throughout their funding lifetime. In reviewing this documentary source, this chapter provides a picture of the case study SIPs at the start of their life. This information will not only allow an initial understanding of the focus and priorities of the case study SIPs, but is also intended to provide a useful starting point through which to develop later discussions on key aspects of the work of the case study SIPs reviewed through primary data collection and set out in the chapters that follow. This chapter partly serves to begin to answer the research question outlined in Chapter 1 on the policy priorities identified by the case study SIPs as steering their approach to achieving social inclusion for young people by exploring the priorities identified at the time of applying for funding.

This chapter provides a range of information on the case study SIPs using a three-pronged analytical framework. Firstly, attention is given to the context within which the strategy document was produced, both in relation to national political and policy imperatives that steer the work of SIPs, and in relation to the local context where with the introduction of the SIP programme the Glasgow Alliance took on the role of managing SIPs in the city. Secondly, attention turns to the content of the SIP strategy documents in terms of the key priorities and objectives relating to youth inclusion that were set out at this developmental stage. Thirdly, the processes involved in developing these strategy documents are reviewed. These relate to the partnership structures set up in this developmental stage, the extent to which the community were involved in the development of the SIPs' plans, the resources available to the SIPs and the time available to undertake the task of developing the strategy document. It is argued from this analysis that, given the time available to the SIPs to develop their planned working approach and the partnership structures needed to take this forward, both case study SIPs made significant progress in setting out their aims and intended programme of work. The main weaknesses in the early development of the SIPs' work programme relate to the lack of evidence of commitments of funding by partners and difficulties with taking forward

community involvement. However, this is unsurprising given the time available and the range of issues to be addressed prior to gaining access to funding.

SIP Strategy Development: an analytical framework

As noted in Chapter 3, following on from the approach introduced with Programme for Partnership, all partnerships applying for SIP funding were expected to outline their planned work programme in the form of a 'strategy document' before gaining access to funding. As part of the SIP application process, the strategy document was to be submitted by mid-January 1999, with the intention that successful applicants would have access to SIP funding from 1 April 1999. In producing this document, not only was the information contained in it to be used to allow assessment of the quality of the applications received and decide which should get funding¹, it was also intended to provide a 'plan of action' that the Scottish Office could review over time in measuring the progress made by the SIPs in working towards achieving their aims. Thus, the information contained in this document is useful to review as it provides a picture of the planned activities of the SIPs at the time of applying for funding and which the Scottish Office would be using as a record of progress over time.

To assist with understanding the factors of importance in this stage of the SIPs' work, an analytical framework used by Fordham et al (1999), and later by Hutchinson (2001), is employed to reflect on the issues of relevance to SIPs when developing their 'strategic plans' at this early stage in the life of these Partnerships. This analytical framework is based on a model developed by de Wit & Meyer (1998) which identifies three inputs to the development of a partnership's strategy document as relating to the:

- **context:** the circumstances under which the strategy is developed;
- **content:** the detail of the strategy;
- **process:** the manner through which the strategy comes about.

In exploring the strategy documents developed by the case study SIPs, this same three-pronged conceptualisation of strategy development is used to unpack the approach to be taken by these SIPs in working towards achieving social inclusion for young people.

¹ The assessment of the SIP applications was made by the Scottish Social Inclusion Network, an advisory group of 'experts' set up by the Scottish Office in 1998 to support the social inclusion/justice policy programme.

The Context of Strategy Development

As Fordham et al (1999) note, the context within which urban policy programmes occur is influenced by both political and policy imperatives. The political drivers that shape the way that urban policy programmes develop were discussed in Chapter 3 where it was argued that different influences have steered the approach to urban policy over time, where we now see a commitment to reducing inefficiency in public spending (Smyth 1997) and increasing value for money (Scottish Office 1998a). The impact of this political context has been to encourage managerial influences on the way that urban policy programmes are developed, notably through targeting funding towards the most deprived areas, using competitive bidding to encourage a partnership approach to produce a coherent plan for regenerating deprived areas (Turok & Hopkins 1997). This approach has continued with the introduction of SIPs, albeit that the competition for this funding source is now open to thematic partnerships focusing on the needs of vulnerable groups, as well as those working in deprived neighbourhoods.

As well as this overarching political context, there is a particular policy context through which SIPs are expected to work. In general, this relates to the commitment to partnership working, which promotes the involvement of a range of key stakeholders, such as public sector agencies, the community, private and voluntary sector in delivering local change (Scottish Office 1998f). However, within the local context there is the particular policy imperative that has emerged with the role performed by the Glasgow Alliance in managing SIPs in Glasgow. The local policy context is, therefore, worthy of some attention in order to consider the influences framing the development of the SIPs at this time.

The City Context

Concern about the level of deprivation facing many areas of Glasgow is well documented (see McCrone 1991). A range of initiatives have been developed over the years to respond to this situation, including GEAR in the 1970s (Bailey et al 1995) and more recently the Glasgow Regeneration Alliance. (GRA), an informal partnership set up in 1993 to promote a co-ordinated regeneration strategy for Glasgow linking problems in deprived neighbourhoods with an overall city strategy to address economic decline (Planning Exchange 1996).

In 1998, the GRA was re-launched as the Glasgow Alliance (hereafter called 'the Alliance') at which time the partnership between the City Council, Glasgow Development Agency and Scottish Homes (the original membership) was expanded to include Greater Glasgow Health Board, Glasgow Council for the Voluntary Sector, Strathclyde Police, Scottish Business in the Community and the Scottish Office (Glasgow Alliance 2001). In addition, the partnership was

also formalised at this time with an annual funding allocation of £500,000 coming from the Scottish Office²: “to help with the employment of staff and other resources to develop and implement the strategy for the city” (Scottish Office Press Release 24 June 1998). These developments indicate not only a change in the membership of the Alliance through a wider range of partners and the direct involvement of the Scottish Office, but also a higher profile for the Alliance as an organisation with its own corporate identity.

The widening of the membership of the Alliance was part of the promotion of a wider set of priorities, linking more directly with the Scottish Social Justice policy agenda (Scottish Executive 1999a). Thus, rather than focusing specifically on tackling economic decline, the new city-wide strategy highlighted a commitment to the following aims:

- *Working Glasgow*: increasing job opportunities for residents.
- *Learning Glasgow*: improving standards in educational attainment and lifelong learning.
- *Vibrant Glasgow*: house building, city centre improvements and development of the River Clyde.
- *Healthy Glasgow*: information, services and support to live a safe, active and healthy life.
- *Safe Glasgow*: reducing crime and fear of crime. (Glasgow Alliance 2001)

The reasons for these changes within the Alliance are likely to relate to the political context within which they were taking place. Firstly, a political commitment to partnership working at city and local level (Balloch & Taylor 2001) fits within the current governance models pursued across Europe (Pierre 1998). Secondly, it is likely that the incoming Labour Government from 1997 wanted to be seen to be doing something particular in Glasgow given the size of the city, the levels of deprivation and the size of the public sector spending directed at the city³. A speech made by Donald Dewar, as Secretary of State for Scotland, illustrates his view on the need for partnership working in the city:

... extra resources are only part of the solution. We want to see effective strategic direction. Agencies need to work together in partnership for the good of the city as a whole. We want to see new thinking as well as building on the good practice that is available. We want to see Glasgow modernising in spirit as well as physically, socially and economically. The government is committed to helping Glasgow, but the city's partners must get their act together too. (Scottish Office, Press Release 3 March 1999)

² At the time of allocating funding to the Glasgow Alliance, the Scottish Office also started funding the city-wide partnership in Edinburgh (Capital City Partnership) at £240,000 per annum.

³ In 2001 around £3,000 million of public funding was spent by Glasgow City Council, Greater Glasgow Health Board, Scottish Enterprise Glasgow (previously Glasgow Development Agency), Communities Scotland (previously Scottish Homes) and Strathclyde Police Scottish Homes to spend in Glasgow (Glasgow Alliance, personal correspondence)

That the Glasgow Alliance also took over management of the SIP programme at this time is explained as part of the overall co-ordinating programme that was being promoted:

I spent a long time [in 1998] talking with [an officer within Glasgow City Council]. From that, we agreed that there was a logic [that] if the Glasgow Alliance as a partnership was part of all the partners, not only one, and one of the strengths of the Glasgow approach has been that the Alliance isn't sitting in the city chambers - not that it is a problem to be sitting in the city chambers, but this way it is seen by other partners as a partnership, rather than a department of the council... It is absolutely logical, if you agree with that, to say if we are creating partnerships, real partnerships, with community at the heart at a local level, it makes sense for that same approach to be adopted here so that the Alliance partnership can employ a local staff who will do the same co-ordination there. (Glasgow Alliance officer)

However, while this may suggest a pragmatic linking up of city and local partnership approaches, there is potential that Scottish Office support for the Alliance at this time was intended to distance the City Council from their dominance of service delivery in the city; a point that links to wider criticisms of local authorities for their inefficiency in delivering services (Stoker 1996; Fordham et al 1999). It is this mistrust of the City Council that is suggested to be the motivation for the Scottish Office financially supporting and expanding the role of the Alliance at the same time as developing the SIP programme, and through this, as noted in Chapter 4, expanding the financing of SIPs in the city:

It was clear to us politically at that stage that [the Scottish Office] did not have much trust in local government in the city. They wanted the opportunity to target more resources to tackle social exclusion in Glasgow, but they did not trust us to be the main delivery mechanism. Therefore, the Alliance was re-launched and repackaged. (Glasgow City Council, senior official)

That the funding to Glasgow SIPs is significantly more than the funding that went to the city under the Programme for Partnership does suggest that there may have been a wish on the part of the Scottish Office to ensure that this new programme was managed effectively. Further, the role played by the Glasgow Alliance in managing SIPs has also meant that the staff employed to support the SIPs in the city are employees of the Alliance. Through this, it is argued that the role performed by the Alliance in responding to the programme set by the Scottish Office offers a more co-operative working relationship between the city and the Scottish Office than previously:

Our relations with the Scottish Executive officials are very good. That was not the case when we had the PPAs. People within the Executive will ask us to find something out and all of the SIPs are happy to do that throughout the city. We have never missed a deadline in Glasgow, which the Council used to do all the time. I feel very strongly that in relation to offering a professional service, if they ask for a monitoring framework, then that is what they will have. We will flag up that we didn't have time to do it all and that there are things missing, but we do it. (Glasgow Alliance officer)

As a result of this development, the Glasgow Alliance played a key role in co-ordinating the applications for SIP funding that came from partnerships in Glasgow:

What we did this time was to say to everybody, all the partners at local areas that all of this is going to be co-ordinated by the Glasgow Alliance, that is what we are here to do, to co-ordinate. So all proposals are to come to us and our Board will prioritise them, they will say which is the most important... So we set all that out, and where there were already good local structures they did their proposals and where they were struggling... we plugged the gaps to help get the package together. (Glasgow Alliance officer)

In the case of thematic SIP applications, there was an uncertainty about how to develop these bids, which is perhaps unsurprising given the long history of area regeneration initiatives and the experience held by many agencies (including those involved in the Glasgow Alliance) on how to bid for funding to support deprived areas:

... we were less sure just what was out there, what could happen [with thematic SIPs]. While we knew we wanted Drumchapel, and who we needed to talk to in order to make that happen, [we were not sure] what the thematic issues were, what were the most important. (Glasgow Alliance officer)

This illustrates that there was a certain order to events that happened with the development of an explicit policy commitment to social inclusion in 1998, and with this the development of the SIP programme and financial support going to city-wide partnerships. The Glasgow Alliance taking on management of SIPs, and recruiting the staff who would support individual SIPs, is unlikely to have been an explicit policy imperative. However, this development did provide a useful opportunity to change the management of urban policy programmes in Glasgow at a time when there was a policy commitment to better targeting need, while also increasing the funding allocation to SIPs in Glasgow (see Chapter 4).

The context within which the case study SIPs developed their strategy documents was one influenced by an ongoing political and policy commitments to resource rationalisation, supported by the development of a city-wide partnership setting that was intended to better co-ordinate the activities of partnerships in the city and to offer a more politically acceptable management of locally based policy developments. Thus, it was in this national and local context that the SIPs went about developing their strategic plans to achieve social inclusion.

The Content of the SIP Strategy Documents

Turning attention to the particular plans set out by the case study SIPs in their strategy documents, there were two issues that were to be presented:

- a clearly defined vision and set of objectives to achieve this; and
- what work was to be undertaken by the SIP to work towards achieving their vision.

This information is set out below, along with further contextual information on the area/group being targeted, in order to provide a picture of the main thematic priorities and objectives of the case study SIPs.

Drumchapel SIP

Drumchapel is a peripheral estate located eight miles north west of Glasgow city centre. It is an area with acute levels of deprivation, with the three postcode areas covered by the SIP represented in the top ten postcode sectors within the 1998 Index of Deprivation (Gibb et al 1998). Perhaps as a result of this, the area has suffered extensive out-migration since the early 1970s, with the 17,000 people resident in 1998 representing only half the local population in 1971 (Drumchapel SIP 1999).

The SIP strategy document highlights concern with a range of local problems including poverty and benefit dependency, the high incidence of lone parenthood, unemployment, poor health, poor quality housing and problems facing young people in the area (Drumchapel SIP 1999). The role of the SIP within that local context was to co-ordinate the extensive programme of work going on in the local area. This included specialist initiatives to regenerate the area e.g. a new sports complex, a development of new-built private housing⁴, and the local high schools becoming a New Community School⁵. In addition, the spending of public sector partners in the area, including Glasgow City Council, Scottish Homes and Greater Glasgow Health Board, stood at over £40 million⁶ (Drumchapel SIP 1999).

Within that setting the ‘vision’ for Drumchapel SIP was:

To enhance the development of Drumchapel as an attractive and sustainable suburb of Glasgow where people wish to live by virtue of the quality of life afforded to them in terms of housing, education, training, health, employment, shopping and leisure opportunities.

To achieve this, five broad themes were set that were to frame the work taken forward by the SIP (fuller details of the specific objectives is outlined in Appendix 10):

⁴ Two areas in Glasgow were being targeted by Scottish Homes (Drumchapel and Ruchill/North Glasgow) for “New Neighbourhood” status, a programme that aimed to increase owner-occupation in these areas through working with private developers to build new private housing in these areas.

⁵ ‘New Community School’ status provides funding to selected schools to support the provision of additional teachers, social workers, family workers and health personnel to develop services centred on the needs of children and their families.

⁶ Information in Drumchapel SIP’s strategy document stated that around £22.6 million of expenditure is spent in the area by Glasgow City Council, £9.75 from Greater Glasgow Health Board, £6.7 million from Scottish Homes, £0.82 from Glasgow Development Agency and £0.29 million from the Employment Service.

- *Empowering the Community*: creating an environment in which local people will be provided with the support and opportunity to play a full part in developing and influencing the delivery of services in the area.
- *Alleviating Poverty*: reducing the level of poverty by enhancing the local economy and providing residents with the skills to obtain and retain employment opportunities; maximising access to opportunities through advice and information and promote the development of support systems for those who are not in a position to become economically active.
- *Enhancing Educational Opportunities*: providing a quality of life-long educational opportunities in the widest sense which will equip members of the community with the skills to access the opportunities available.
- *Improving Health & Well-being*: creating the conditions for good health to develop and be maintained and in doing so improve the health, well-being and quality of life of the people of Drumchapel.
- *Engaging with Young People*: encouraging young people to engage in a process of community participation, which will reduce social exclusion by addressing issues that affect their everyday lives.

These thematic headings illustrate the localised focus taken by this SIP. However, of central interest to this study is to review the plans of this SIP in relation to the measures focused on young people. With this focus in mind, it is clear that two of the thematic priorities have direct implications for the young people of Drumchapel: engaging with young people; and enhancing educational opportunities. That said, the other three priorities are also indirectly relevant to young people as members of the local community.

Looking firstly at the concern with engaging with young people, it is clear that one of the motivating factors in focusing on this group relates to the relative youth of the local population, where 41% of local residents are aged under 25, with 10% aged between 15 and 19 years old (Drumchapel SIP 1999). This compares with a national picture where young people make up approximately 31% of the Scottish population (SHS 2001). However, responding to the needs of this group is only part of the concern with young people; with the SIP also highlighting concern about the problem of local youth unemployment and ‘disaffected young people’⁷, having led to: “a popular perception... of large numbers of young people loitering and engaging in anti-social behaviour, petty criminal activities and nuisance” (Drumchapel SIP 1999; 8).

In addition, there is also a focus on encouraging young people to participate in local decision-making. This is, in part, emphasised through encouraging young people to take part in the

⁷ A term used in this SIP to refer to young people not involved in formal education or employment/training.

development of a ‘youth strategy’⁸ for the area. However, this focus on youth involvement also emphasises the particular role that young people can play in local decision-making through the overarching commitment to ‘empowering the community’ (Drumchapel SIP 1999).

Young people are also prioritised through the concern with ‘enhancing educational opportunities’, which Appendix 10 shows centrally focuses on the education of children and young people throughout their compulsory schooling, while also promoting participation in post-school education, training and lifelong learning. The remit on enhancing educational opportunities in the local area can be seen to fit into the Labour Government’s policy concern with education and lifelong learning as a key to addressing inequality in access to opportunities (Walton 2000). Given that school attendance and attainment in Drumchapel are cited as “amongst the lowest in Scotland” (Drumchapel SIP 1999), the need to address problems while children and young people are taking part in compulsory schooling is seen as paramount.

The final two themes of alleviating poverty and improving health and well-being also either directly or indirectly focus on the needs of young people. For example, as Appendix 10 shows, the concern with alleviating poverty follows a broad agenda on labour market participation and self-employment as the routes out of poverty. Within this framework, there is an explicit youth focus through the aim of encouraging 16 and 17 year olds into employment and providing support to facilitate participation in the labour market in the future. The priority of improving health and well-being concentrates on health in terms of physical fitness, mental health, family health and smoking, alcohol and drug misuse. While there is no explicit reference to young people within this priority, it is likely that these measures will have some impact on local young people.

The SIP identified two approaches as central to responding to these priorities. First, there were the services delivered through partner agencies to meet local need. Second, there were to be new projects⁹ funded by the SIP in order to ‘fill gaps’ in local services. To illustrate, the following examples show how this is taken forward:

- Within the priority on ‘educational opportunities’, there was a concern to improve punctuality, attendance and attainment for primary and secondary school pupils. To

⁸ The ‘youth strategy’ was a consultation with young people to identify what local services they identified as necessary to meet their needs.

⁹ Chapter 3 sets out that the term ‘project’ refers to specialist service provisions that are not part of mainstream service delivery and where funding is on a limited allocation e.g. three years.

respond to this it was noted that other developments were already being taken forward through, for example, a Government initiative to provide classroom assistants to all schools, and the funding provided to the local high school as a New Community School. In addition, services provided by partners were also available to respond to this priority. However, the SIP was to add to this provision through funding: local breakfast clubs, supported after-school study and off-site support for secondary school pupils facing attendance/behavioural problems.

- Within the priority on ‘improving health & well-being’, there was concern to improve levels of physical activity. To respond to this, there were local sports facilities provided by Glasgow City Council, schools provide physical education as part of the school curriculum and other local initiatives were in place to provide sports e.g. an outdoor activities group. The role of the SIP was, therefore, to fund additional programmes to meet the needs of specific groups e.g. older people, disabled people and women.

What these examples show is that the SIP proposed to focus mainly on performing a ‘gap filling’ function at the local level by meeting identified local need not fulfilled through mainstream service provision and other specialist initiatives, a point that is considered further in later analysis of the approach adopted by both SIPs.

The Big Step

The Big Step¹⁰ is a city-wide partnership targeting the social exclusion of young people in care and those leaving care throughout the city of Glasgow. The group of young people the SIP is concerned with are those “who are/have been the subject of a supervision requirement from the Children’s Panel¹¹ [which includes those who are] living at home, in foster care, in residential care or in secure accommodation” (Big Step 1999; 1). The SIP estimated that approximately 2,400 young people were ‘in care’ in Glasgow in 1998 using this definition; with around 1,500 living at home on supervision orders, 680 in full time foster care and 250 in residential care (Big Step 1999).

The main priority for this SIP was to address the concerns about the high risk of social exclusion associated with young people who have been in care; particularly those who have

¹⁰ The naming of this SIP as ‘the Big Step’ did not take place until late in 2000. However, in the interests of clarity I will refer to this Partnership throughout by its present name.

¹¹ The Children’s Panel is a hearing where children and young people aged under 16 who are deemed in need of care as a result of family neglect or youth crime are seen and a panel of volunteers, social worker, parents and

been in residential care. For example, research has shown that this group face much higher risks of homelessness, poor school attendance and attainment, high levels of emotional and behavioural problems, high incidence of offending and drug misuse and high levels of teenage parenting (Beihal et al 1995; Baldwin et al 1997; Stein 1997). The exact figures relating to these risks vary between studies but nonetheless raise concerns about barriers to accessing future social and economic opportunities (Big Step 1999). In addition, within a local context where deprivation faces many children and young people, the risk of social exclusion for care leavers in Glasgow is thought to be further compounded (Big Step 1999).

As with Drumchapel SIP, the Big Step intended that their Partnership activities would complement national and local service initiatives focusing on vulnerable young people. For example, within the UK context the development of the New Deal for young people and within Glasgow the development of Children's Service Planning¹² were recognised as important initiatives that would impact on young people 'in care'. Further, given the statutory responsibility of the Social Work Department to young people in care, the SIP highlighted the role performed by this agency in providing services to this group. As such, there was acknowledgement that much of the work of the SIP would be complementing these activities.

Within this context, the Big Step set out their 'vision' as being:

To develop and implement an effective multi-agency approach to service delivery, which promotes the social inclusion of young people who are currently in or have been through the care system. (Big Step 1999; 3)

Through a focus on 'collaborative, inter-agency' working, there was to be an explicit commitment made to ensuring that young people would be 'involved in the heart of the process'. To take this overarching vision forward, three themes were identified as of particular concern:

- *Health & Well-being:* focusing on general health as well as mental health, sexual health, drugs and crime.
- *Education, Training & Employment:* focusing on increasing opportunities and available services to meet young peoples' needs in this area.
- *Housing & Accommodation:* focusing on preventing homelessness and providing housing support.

other professionals make a decision about the way that their care should be addressed. Those deemed in need of care either at home or in foster/residential/secure accommodation are referred to as 'supervised'.

¹² Children's Service Planning aims to organise and deliver a range of local authority services to children, young people and their families in a co-ordinated way.

Appendix 11 outlines the specific objectives identified under these three themes. As with Drumchapel SIP, these priorities show that there were recognised to be a number of gaps in service provision across these three themes. The following provide examples of the types of activities that the SIP stated they would be undertaking when they applied for funding:

- Under the 'health and well-being' theme, which Appendix 11 shows covered a range of concerns relating to mental health, sexual health, drugs, criminality and general health, the SIP highlighted a need to extend health needs assessments for this group of young people, extend best-practice in residential care to all homes, establish in-patient addiction service, deliver relevant and appropriate drugs inputs, and improve training in referral services. There is no clear indication of who would be taking forward these tasks, merely that they would involve the partner agencies.
- Within the 'housing and accommodation' theme, specifically relating to the priority of young people accessing accommodation to meet their needs, a number of developments were thought to be needed. These ranged from a need for more supported carers, community support flats and the establishment of a service for care leavers in the community. There was also identified a need to review services and policy e.g. supported tenancy provision and youth homelessness policy. Again, there is no clear picture of the role to be played by the SIP or the individual partners in taking forward this agenda.

As the above examples suggest, the strategy document produced by the Big Step was much less developed than that submitted by Drumchapel SIP. This explains the lack of clarity over who would be responsible for taking forward the planned priorities of the Big Step. What was evident from the funding applied for (see Appendix 14) was the intention that the SIP would be delivering a range of new services, using the SIP fund to employ staff for this purpose. In addition, there was also a priority given to working with partners to meet the needs of young people. As is discussed further in the next section, the employment of a staff team to deliver new services was not what emerged in practice. However, given the lack of clarity on the details relating to the way that the objectives would be met, the change in plan is probably not surprising.

SIP Priorities for Action

Analysis of the strategy documents from the case study SIPs shows a number of similarities. Firstly, while both SIPs laid out a number of key priority areas for their work programme under thematic headings, and within this cited a number of specific developments that they

intended to pursue through the SIP, there was much less attention given to outlining specific targets. There were some attempts to outline specific output/outcome targets. For example, Drumchapel SIP stated that they intended to reduce late attendance at school by 5% per year and increase attendance rates to the Glasgow average within 5 years. While, within the Big Step, there was a commitment to establishing four supported carers' places and one new supported flat within the first year of the life of the SIP. However, more often targets were less specific. For example, in Drumchapel SIP there was a target to "increase levels of physical activity and participation in sport" and within the Big Step to "increase referral rates [to mental health professionals]" and to "reduce the numbers of young people who use drugs while in care".

Secondly, both SIPs were broadly following a similar path in the approach that they intended to take to achieve social inclusion for their target group of young people. Notably both aimed to perform a gap-filling role in providing new services to meet specific need; albeit that the Big Step had not clarified exactly what role the SIP or individual partners would be performing in this task. Thirdly, both SIPs cited a concern with co-ordinating or multi-agency working as central to their role. However, beyond the gap-filling role outlined above, neither SIP gives clear indication of how they intended to facilitate co-ordination or multi-agency working. This issue is explored further in Chapter 8 when considering the working practices of the case study SIPs.

It is in relation to the thematic priorities of the two SIPs that differences between the SIPs begin to emerge. Both are broadly concerned with the same priorities in terms of health, employment, education and community involvement; all issues high on the policy agenda through the social inclusion approach (see Appendices 1 & 2). However, the specific priorities identified by the SIPs to respond to these thematic issues illustrate differences in approach. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the emphasis within the Big Step is, largely, on the provision of services and support to respond to the needs of care leavers. However, in addition, some acknowledgement is given to the role of young people as 'active' agents, via the concern with encouraging young people to make their own health choices and through the overarching SIP priority of involving young people in the work of the SIP. Finally, there is some evidence of a concern with the problematic nature of this group of young people through the explicit concern with reducing offending behaviour, but also implicitly through the concerns with drug use and sexual health supports.

Within Drumchapel SIP, there is a more explicit concern to address all three of these priorities in relation to young people. The service needs of young people are highlighted both explicitly through the need for social support and through priorities relating to improving health and educational opportunities for all residents. The 'active' role of young people within the community is also explicitly evident through their intended role in local decision-making, while being further reinforced through the concern with increasing young people's participation in education, employment and training. Finally, as noted earlier, the problematic nature of young people within the local community is highlighted as part of the concern with 'anti-social behaviour' and vandalism. However, as within the Big Step, there is also a further implicit problematic focus emergent through the concerns with school attainment/attendance and with non-participation in training and employment beyond school age, suggesting 'disaffection' by young people.

While the emphases within the two SIPs differs, this analysis does suggest that both SIPs share a more or less explicit concern with addressing a range of political, social and economic aspects of exclusion (Percy-Smith 2000). Where differences in emphasis are present, these are likely to relate to differences in the focus taken by these two SIPs. In particular, that Drumchapel is an area-based SIP, suggests that young people at the neighbourhood level are likely to be a source of local difficulties, specifically for other community members (Scott et al 2000); an issue that then leads to a concern with tackling the local effects of young people's behaviour. Further, the main focus of the Big Step's work being on addressing the service needs of care leavers (as is noted below), suggests a more explicit 'care' dimension to the work of this SIP; albeit that this focus also suggests a need to address the problems caused by the exclusion of this group of young people. These issues are considered in more detail in Chapter 10 when considering the involvement of young people in the decision-making structures of the SIPs.

The Process of Strategy Development

As well as concern with the context within which SIP strategies are developed and the content of the strategy documents themselves, this final section looks at the processes involved in developing the SIPs' strategy documents. Fordham et al (1999) identify four issues that are explored here to better understand the processes involved in developing the SIPs' approach to working:

- Who the partners were that were involved in this developmental stage.
- How the community were involved in this development stage.

- What resources were available and requested to implement the SIPs' plans.
- How much time was available to develop the SIPs' plans.

Each of these issues is explored here in order to better understand the factors influencing the approach taken by the SIPs in setting out their priorities for action.

Partner Involvement

In order to apply for SIP funding, there was a requirement made by the Scottish Office that a partnership had been set up to develop the SIP's plans which would present evidence that all the key partners were involved in this developmental stage (Scottish Office 1998f). In response to this, Drumchapel SIP had established an interim Partnership Board that had developed the strategy document and agreed the overall strategic aims outlined in Appendix 10. The interim Board had met throughout late 1998 and early 1999 and consisted of the following members:

- 2 local councillors (one of whom was the Chair).
- 1 officer from Glasgow City Council (Education Department).
- 1 officer from Scottish Homes.
- 1 officer from Greater Glasgow Health Board.
- 1 officer from Strathclyde Police.
- 1 officer from Drumchapel Opportunities¹³.
- 1 officer from the Business Support Group¹⁴.
- 5 community representatives, including one member of the local voluntary sector and one young person.

The five thematic priorities set out in Appendix 10 also provided the basis for a set of sub-groups that were formed in order to develop the specific priorities under each of these thematic headings. However, it was noted at this stage that there was still work to be done in developing the links between these sub-groups and the main Board in terms of clarifying their respective roles and responsibilities, as well as developing partner representation within these sub-groups. Progressing these issues was, therefore, recognised as a key task to be taken forward during the first year in the life of the Partnership (Drumchapel SIP 1999).

¹³ Drumchapel Opportunities is the local economic development company which focuses on the economic inclusion of Drumchapel residents.

¹⁴ The Business Support Group is a brokering service undertaken by Scottish Business in the Community which focuses on co-ordinating and channelling assistance from the business community to deprived neighbourhoods.

Appendix 12 provides an outline of the Partnership structures, and a brief explanation of the links between different aspects of the Partnership in terms of membership and responsibilities, that had emerged by the end of the first year of the life of the SIP. This shows that the broad thematic priorities identified at the time of setting out the strategy remained central. The one notable change is that the commitment to alleviating poverty was implicitly linked to the Economic Implementation Group. However, given the strategic priorities set out in Appendix 10, which focus centrally on addressing poverty via labour market initiatives, this development is not surprising. What the diagram in Appendix 12 outlines is a complex and very formal set of partnership arrangements within which decisions are made. As is also shown, the involvement of partners within each of the SIP Groups relates directly to the thematic focus of the particular setting. For example, the Youth Implementation Group is Chaired by a young person and has a membership of young people as well as local voluntary sector and statutory service providers who provide services to young people.

In the Big Step during this developmental stage, a Partnership Group was set up to develop the SIP strategy document and agree the priorities as set out in Appendix 11. As with Drumchapel SIP, it was recognised that a more formal partnership arrangement was to be developed during the first year. The membership of the initial Partnership Group consisted of the following representatives:

- 1 local councillor (Chair)
- 2 officers from Glasgow City Council (Social Work and Education Department).
- 1 officer from Greater Glasgow Health Board
- 1 officer from Barnardo's
- 1 officer from Who Cares? Scotland
- 1 officer from NCH Action for Children
- 2 care leavers

At that stage, there were no other partnership groups involved in developing the SIP's strategy document. However, as it outlined in Appendix 13, a number of sub-groups emerged during the first year that were responsible for taking forward aspects of the SIP's work. The information presented in Appendix 13 highlights that, as well as Working Groups for the 3 thematic priorities outlined in the strategy document as relating to health, accommodation and education/employment, three other groups were formed: a youth consultation group, a Colleges Working Group and a Research & Information Group. Brief description of the membership and role of these groups is provided in Appendix 13. What this shows, is that

young people's involvement was promoted through the young people's consultation group, while young people were not involved in the Working Groups. Their presence at the Board also remained at approximately two young people during the first year of the SIP's life.

Community Involvement

While the development of partnership arrangements outlined above shows that community members were involved in this early planning stage in the life of the SIPs, it is worth considering further the specific contribution made by community members within this developmental stage. The SIP guidance for submitting the strategy documents (Scottish Office 1998f) does explicitly ask SIPs to set out how the community would be involved in the development of the strategy, thus it is worth considering further the particular contribution made by the SIPs in responding to this policy commitment.

Within the strategy document produced by Drumchapel SIP some reference is made to the involvement of, and consultation with, the community in developing the SIP's strategy. For example, reference is made to the involvement of community organisations in the SIP sub-groups; while there is also reference to a community conference held to 'inform and consult over the strategy development' (Drumchapel SIP 1999; 22), at which point community representatives were elected to the interim SIP Board. Further, a consultation was held with youth organisations, from which the youth representative was also elected to the interim SIP Board.

There is less explicit evidence of the involvement of young people within the development of the Big Step's strategy document. Indeed, very little reference was made to the activities undertaken to involve young people in the development of the strategy. Rather the focus was on how future involvement of young people would be facilitated through the development of the youth consultation group. What was said was that 'the partnership has sought from the outset to ensure that the views of young people who are in or have been through the care system has been taken on board' (Big Step 1999; 4). How this was facilitated is not clear, but the advocacy role of the representative of Who Cares? Scotland does suggest that their involvement at the application stage served to support the involvement of young people both through direct youth involvement and through the advocacy role performed by this agency:

A lot of my role is advocacy... My role as a Board member is not only to be a voluntary sector representative, but also to facilitate and support young people's input... I have worked on consultation events, sounding out the bid and involving young people in that process. (Big Step partner)

In short then, within Drumchapel SIP the consultations with adult community members and young people prior to submitting the strategy document illustrates an attempt to get the views of the community to feed into that stage of their work, which does suggest their involvement in this stage. Similarly, within the Big Step there were two young people in the Partnership Group and Who Cares? Scotland performing an advocacy role, which again indicates efforts made to involve young people at this early stage. However, while a limited number of community members were present at this development stage, later discussions on the time available to prepare the SIP bid and strategy document suggests that effective involvement of the community was limited. Thus, while efforts were made to include community members in this process, it is questionable what real influence and effective involvement the community could have given the available time.

Resources

In addition to outlining partner involvement, specifically relating to the involvement of the community in this developmental stage, SIP strategy documents were also to outline the resources required to deliver the SIPs' planned activities. This was to involve both identifying what resources would be provided by partners, as well as setting out what additional SIP funding would be required to fill gaps in current provision (Scottish Office 1998f). What this approach does is encourage SIPs to identify what work is already being done to address the needs of the group/area and how the SIP will be complementing this activity; an approach that fits with the gap filling role identified earlier as being taken forward through the focus of both SIPs.

As was noted earlier, Drumchapel SIP's strategy document acknowledges the wide range of services provided by mainstream and specialist initiatives to address the needs of the local community, and the cost of this provision. In addition, in their detailed breakdown of their intended programme of work, they provide indicative funding from partners and other funding sources that will 'match' with SIP funding to meet their priorities. However, there is no attempt to suggest that this is an agreed 'bend' of funding towards the SIP, nor the level at which the funding would be required of individual partners. For example, to improve the employability of young people, the SIP identified that £150,000 a year would be needed; of which £100,000 was requested from SIP funding, with the remaining £50,000 'potentially' funded from a range of other sources, including Glasgow City Council, European Structural Fund and Scottish Homes.

Within the Big Step, there is similarly acknowledgement of the services already in place to meet the needs of this group of young people, although no attempt is made to estimate the spending level of mainstream partners on care leavers in Glasgow. This SIP also point to the resource inputs in terms of time input by agency partners in working with the SIP, including the secondment of two staff members from partner agencies to work as part of the SIP staff team, at an estimated cost to the partner agencies of approximately £90,000 per annum. Beyond this, there is acknowledgement of the shared role of the partner agencies in taking forward the priorities of the SIP, but no specific funding allocation is cited to suggest that particular partners had committed themselves to a 'bend' of funding. For example, the concern with developing appropriate social support networks led to plans to develop a 'buddy' programme for young people in care, but no indication was given of who would pay for this.

Both SIPs, therefore, were attempting to respond to the request to outline resource commitments on the part of partners, but had interpreted this in different ways and had not made explicit financial commitments on the part of partners. This lack of evidence of any committed 'bend' of funding from partners may be the result of a lack of willingness by partners to commit funding to the priorities of the SIPs, alternatively they were not in a position to make any firm financial commitment at that stage. As in other parts of this process, the time available provides some context for this development. Indeed, given that agency funding is allocated well in advance of each financial year and a long run in would likely be needed to facilitate access to funding, assuming any was available to contribute to the priorities of the SIP, the lack of explicit resource allocations is unsurprising. That said, both SIPs had attempted to respond to the policy request for information on available resources, with the Big Step focusing on the commitments of time made by partners and Drumchapel SIP suggesting indicative funding from partner agencies. However, as elsewhere, Drumchapel SIP had clearly developed their strategy document in terms of planned spending much more coherently than within the Big Step through outlining their potential 'match' funds, a process not undertaken by the Big Step in their strategy document.

With regard to their requirements from the SIP fund, both SIPs set out a request for an annual allocation, as follows: £2.5 million for Drumchapel SIP and approximately £500,000 for the Big Step. The amount of money applied for is based on estimated costs associated with the work of the SIPs (see Appendix 14 for details). All applicants for SIP funding were provided with an indicative figure for how much funding was available over the following

three years to support SIPs and were to use this to frame their applications for funding¹⁵. Within Glasgow, as was noted earlier in the contextual information on the city, the role played by the Alliance in administering and managing the applications for funding from Glasgow based SIPs may also have influenced the funding levels each SIP applied for.

For Drumchapel SIP the estimated requirement from the SIP fund is presented under the five thematic priorities set out in their strategy document. Each figure represents an accumulated cost of the different initiatives planned by the SIP to meet the objectives under each of these five thematic headings. However, the costs set out by the Big Step are not as clearly linked to their objectives, and indeed do not specifically refer to any of the thematic priorities presented in the strategy document. That the funding was requested in order to employ a range of staff seems to suggest a role for the SIP that was not articulated within their strategy documents; that they would themselves be paying for additional staff to undertake services to fill gaps in current provision. As Chapter 8 shows, the SIP, in fact did not go on to use their fund to employ this type of staff team, albeit that they have employed a large staff team to take forward the 'strategic' approach that they have developed. What this suggests, is a lack of clarity on the part of the Big Step at the time of setting out their strategy document and no clear idea of how their funding was likely to be used to meet their strategic objectives.

Time

The final issue under review with regard to the strategy documents relates less to what was said in this document, and more to the time that was allowed to facilitate Partnerships to develop their strategy documents. The framework offered by the Scottish Office meant that both SIPs were working within the timetable provided by Scottish Office to manage the SIP application process. This involved the two stages:

- Invitations for 'Expressions of Interest' were sent out on 28 July 1998, to be submitted by the end of September 1998 (Scottish Office 1998d).
- In November 1998, those that passed this first round were then invited to submit full bids for funding in the form of the strategy document. This document was to be submitted by 15 January 1999. The details in this document were used to form the basis of the decision on whether to allocate SIP funding.

This timetable for developing the programme of work for the SIPs is quite short, with a total of approximately 5 months between the initial invitation to tender being sent out and the final

¹⁵ This information was gleaned from discussions with policy-makers inside the Scottish Executive, and is not outlined in any policy documents.

documentation being submitted. Within this overall timetable, the specific time allocated to developing the strategy document was about two months (between November 1998 and January 1999). As noted earlier, this document was intended to present a picture of the programme that the SIPs would be working to over the period of their funding, while also demonstrating the resource commitment of partners and the role played by the community in developing the strategy document. In particular, effectively involving the community within this sort of timetable is recognised as difficult:

We get impossible deadlines: engage with the community at every level and we'll give you a fortnight... How can you say you want bottom up, engaging with the community approaches and then give a time scale that makes it impossible? ... [And it was] impossible to meaningfully engage with the community and give them a voice in things like the Implementation Plan [strategy document]; the bid was totally impossible and the Implementation Plan practically impossible. (Drumchapel partner)

Given this timetable, it is unlikely that it would be possible to effectively engage the range of partners, including community members, in making decisions about how to best meet local need. Specifically, effectively involving young people within such a short time scale is likely to be highly problematic. That a significant time investment was made by both SIPs during their first year of activity in developing their partnership structures and working practices does suggest that the development stage of partnership working is a time consuming process, and one not discrete to the development of the strategy document:

During this first year, the Board has: recruited the Partnership [staff]; developed the Partnership structure; implemented the SIP fund; ... [and] further developed our strategy. (Drumchapel SIP 2000)

The work of the [SIP] between April 1999 and April 2000 was primarily focused on devising and agreeing its core objectives and subsequent activities to be undertaken over the coming years. (Big Step 2000)

Given the time available to develop the strategy document, it is perhaps not surprising that, while progress was made in outlining a coherent set of strategic objectives, there was less evidence of the community being in a position to influence the work programme of the SIPs or of partners making a commitment to invest funding in the SIP. Clearly, these issues require time to negotiate and progress. That Drumchapel SIP had managed to develop their partnership structures extensively during that short time frame is indicative of the progress made in this particular SIP. The Big Step, on the other hand, were still in very early development stages both in terms of their formal partnership arrangements and in their plans for progressing the SIP.

Conclusion

From this review, it has been shown that, in the short time that the SIPs had available to develop their strategy documents, significant progress was made in bringing partners together and identifying their work priorities. However, given the short timetable provided, the strategy documents were perhaps inevitably weak in relation to illustrating resource availability on the part of agency partners and in relation to effective community involvement in this planning stage. While efforts were made in both SIPs to involve community members at this point, it is not clear to what extent the views of this group were influential in the approach taken. In Drumchapel SIP, for example, it is unclear to what extent young people were involved in steering the SIP's priorities relating to young people, notably regarding their problematic status locally. There is a clear difference between involving community members in the development stage of a Partnership, on the one hand, and involving them in the implementation of a programme that they were not involved in setting the priorities for, on the other. Thus, effective community involvement in this developmental stage seems to be both a challenge, given the time allowed, and a significant priority if community involvement is to be effective.

Within the Big Step, the progress made in developing their strategy document illustrates that their strategic priorities had been identified, but that there were gaps regarding how the SIP intended to take their plans forward. In particular, the request for funding to support a staff team who would provide services is not clearly linked to the issues raised in the strategy document as being priorities for the SIP. Later discussions on this subject, outlined in Chapter 8, illustrate that this SIP did not go on to use its staff team to deliver services. This implies that their planning in relation to how they would approach achieving their strategic objectives was at that stage not clearly articulated. More generally, the fact that both SIPs continued during their first year of funding to develop their partnership structures and working approach, suggests that, while useful to set out a set of plans prior to starting work, there is a need to recognise that development is not a discrete stage in the work of SIPs. Rather, development and implementation are likely to be 'emergent' and evolving processes, as opposed to static and identifiably separate events (Reid 1999).

The discussion in this chapter has outlined the position of SIPs at the time of applying for funding. The chapter has set out information relating both to the policy context within which these SIPs are working, notably relating to the role played by the Glasgow Alliance in managing SIPs, and regarding the content of the SIP strategy documents and the processes

framing the decisions made at that developmental stage. The Chapter has identified the priorities for action relating to promoting social inclusion for young people highlighted by the SIPs at the time of applying for funding. Chapter 7 now develops this further by exploring the theoretical influences underpinning the approach to social inclusion promoted within the case study SIPs, while also looking specifically at the question of whether the agenda on youth inclusion is motivated by a wish to promote social inclusion for young people or to maintain social control over this group.

Chapter 7: Promoting Social Inclusion or Social Control?

Introduction

This chapter aims to contribute towards answering two of the research questions identified at the start of this study. Firstly, attention is given to the question of the theoretical influences underpinning the approach taken by the case study SIPs in working to achieve social inclusion. Secondly, the question of the extent to which the focus on young people taken forward within the case study SIPs may be motivated by concerns with social justice or with maintaining social control over this group forms the central debate within this chapter. The chapter draws on documentary analysis and interview data from both SIP respondents and from wider policy actors to review the underlying theoretical and political influences driving the work of the SIPs. This discussion allows a critique of the agenda on ‘social inclusion’ that is being implemented through the case study SIPs’ focus on young people.

The chapter starts by clarifying the theoretical influences steering the policy focus taken within SIPs. It is argued that an explicit commitment is made to tackling structural barriers to inclusion, while implicitly the focus taken is one that concentrates on addressing the problematic behaviour of individuals that create and reinforce their exclusion. The chapter then explores the proposed responses to achieving social inclusion for young people, which are shown to centre largely on creating opportunities for inclusion within the labour market, while also tackling the ‘social costs’ of young people’s behaviour. The chapter ends by highlighting the limitations of the social inclusion approach within the SIP context. It is argued that the approach taken focuses on the most excluded young people in order to manage their behaviour and reduce the costs of their actions. However, as a result of the limits of the influence that SIPs have on the structural barriers facing some young people, these Partnerships are only able to manage the effects of exclusion rather than being in a position to affect wider change for this group.

Unpacking the Rhetoric of Social Inclusion

Structural Explanations for Exclusion

As outlined in Chapter 2, the policy rhetoric of social exclusion promoted under New Labour in recent years has brought an explicit acknowledgement of the existence of, and problem of, ‘poverty’ back onto the political agenda, and through this, back into the consciousness of those working to address social exclusion:

After years of not being able to talk about poverty, with 'deprivation' or disadvantage' being used instead, it seems that it is now politically viable to talk about poverty again... That I think is a step in the right direction in recognising the root cause of social exclusion for many people. (SSIN member)

That the acknowledgement of poverty is now explicit within policy has given practitioners a confidence in using this language when referring to the issues that they are tackling in their work:

I think that we should be much more confident about using the word poverty when that is what we are talking about. (Glasgow Alliance officer)

Within the case study SIPs, this acknowledgement of the underlying relevance of poverty to the experience of social exclusion is clearly present. For example, within the Big Step, while no explicit commitment was made to addressing poverty as part of their intended programme of work, that care leavers are a particularly vulnerable group in terms of their access to resources was evident:

"Young people who leave the care system without the financial support of family networks are amongst the poorest section of the population". (Big Step 1999a; p.2)

Within Drumchapel SIP, on the other hand, the concern with poverty was both part of the overarching context of the problems present in the area in terms of the number of benefit claimants and the overall levels of unemployment (see Chapter 6), while also being an explicit theme of their strategy to achieve change in the local area. Indeed, one of their five strategic priorities relates to 'alleviating poverty' through a range of local initiatives (see Appendix 10).

From a range of respondents, there was a clear awareness of the relevance of concern with poverty as the central motivator for the work of SIPs and for the social inclusion approach generally:

I think that poverty is at the heart of it all... because that is what prevents you having equal access to education, to health, to life chances, to everything. (Big Step agency partner)

Income poverty is a large part of the conditions that determine how far someone could be included and their risk of exclusion. (SSIN member)

As noted in Chapter 2, a large part of the national response to concerns about income poverty relates to the introduction of a range of policy tools aimed to encourage participation in the labour market. For example, the various 'people based'¹ New Deal initiatives, Tax Credits and

¹ Meaning the New Deal for Young People, New Deal for Disabled People etc rather than the New Deal for Communities, which is a neighbourhood based regeneration activity rather an explicit tool to facilitate access to the labour market by particular social groups.

the National Minimum Wage provide clear indication of the need to address poverty through labour market participation. At this local level, this concern with work as the route through which to address low income was equally explicit:

It is poverty that is damaging Easterhouse, [and] North Glasgow and it is damaging because not enough people are economically active and the benefits system isn't coping. (Glasgow Alliance officer)

This relationship between poverty and labour market exclusion was clearly of direct relevance to understanding the reality of social exclusion for many people; a view that concurs with the *social integration discourse* on social exclusion (Levitas 1998).

However, in line with awareness of the need to 'join-up' to better meet the needs of the most deprived neighbourhoods and vulnerable groups, there were other factors acknowledged as framing the barriers to inclusion. In particular, that access to the labour market was limited by a lack of opportunities was commonly recognised as important to the experience of social exclusion:

For so many people it is simply about a lack of opportunities to work, to get a decent education... (Big Step agency partner)

This focus on opportunities as the route through which to respond to social exclusion was noted in Chapter 2 to be central to the focus of current policy on social inclusion through a concern with promoting 'equality of opportunity' as a principal policy priority (Lister 2000). Within the case study SIPs, this concern is more or less explicitly present within the strategic priorities of these SIPs and promoted through their work programme. For example, within the Big Step, under the general commitment to focusing on education, training and employment, a central concern relates to ensuring availability of supports to facilitate access to 'employment related opportunities' (see Appendix 11); a position clarified by those involved in this SIP:

The idea is to try and increase the opportunities available to these kids to access work and education, more than they are now... a big part of that is about making sure that the right supports are in place to allow them to participate in work either now or in the future. (Big Step agency partner)

Similarly, within Drumchapel SIP, this concern with promoting opportunities for involvement in work and education is explicit through the commitment to 'enhancing educational opportunities' and through this 'equip[ping] people with the skills to access the opportunities available'. In addition, under the banner of 'alleviating poverty' there is a commitment to 'providing residents with the skills to obtain and retain employment opportunities' (see Appendix 10).

This illustrates the centrality of promoting an agenda on opportunity-enhancement as a central aspect of the commitment to achieving social inclusion. The provision of services is one particular aspect of this opportunity-enhancement agenda. For example, as is discussed further in Chapter 8, both SIPs outline an explicit commitment that their work programme will facilitate the provision of new services to meet the needs of young people:

A lot of the project focus is about filling gaps in services to make sure that we can better meet the needs of local people. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

The complex problems that face these young people [means that] current service provision doesn't go far enough to meet their needs. To address that we really need to make sure that there are more services [for this group of young people]... (Big Step agency partner)

The link between the provision of services to meet need and the general commitment to opportunity-enhancement is evident through the implication that the provision of services (as well as meeting specific need) acknowledges the lack of support currently in place to facilitate inclusion. The dynamic of this commitment to providing opportunities is, however, potentially more complex than merely acknowledging that there are not sufficient opportunities or services to allow participation. Indeed, as later discussions will consider further, this commitment brings with it a potential contract arrangement that, in the provision of opportunities, the group targeted for these interventions are expected to take these up, with little acknowledgement of the complex factors that frame the context within which participation occurs.

As well as this concern with providing opportunities, the policy rhetoric developed with the social inclusion approach has also allowed acknowledgement of the 'excluded' position of some groups in relation to the active 'exclusion' undertaken by others. At its most explicit, the concern with discrimination illustrates the dynamic nature of exclusion as some groups experience this. This is not, therefore, a matter of acknowledging a set of income indicators or a lack of available supports to facilitate inclusion in work or education, but a recognition of how the actions of others create the excluded position of some groups. For example, the introduction of SIPs has allowed this policy initiative for the first time to focus specifically on the discrimination faced by particular social groups:

The funding of SIPs that are tackling the discrimination of ethnic minorities is quite an interesting new development... it means for that there is policy recognition of the discrimination that many young black people face when trying to get a job... (SSIN member)

However, the experience of discrimination is not only a concern facing ethnic minorities. As one Drumchapel resident noted from his own experience of trying to find work:

You find it hard, you go for an interview for a job, when you apply for a job and as soon as (and I know this for a fact, from my own experience) employers see Drumchapel on the application they don't want to know. It's got that bad a reputation, they are unreliable, they'll not turn up, all this kind of thing. (Drumchapel SIP community representative)

This image of people as unreliable or untrustworthy as a result of their residence in a recognised deprived neighbourhood has been acknowledged in research elsewhere (see Dean & Hastings 2000), as has the experience of prejudice against ethnic minorities when attempting to access labour market opportunities (Berthoud 2000). This study further shows the particular difficulties experienced by care leavers in terms of people's perceptions of this group; a point that is suggested in Chapter 10 to offer one explanation for young people's involvement with the Big Step:

As soon as people hear you've been in care they just think you're trouble... I can't really be bothered with that. (young person, Big Step)

Clearly, this element of social exclusion as relating to negative attitudes and perceptions of particular groups compounds the unequal social position of some groups in relation to others. Thus, there is an explicit awareness of the active role of excluders in reinforcing the experiences of those who are excluded (Byrne 1999). Indeed, both SIPs highlight a concern with tackling these discriminatory perceptions as part of their work:

... we put things in the newsletter which is distributed to every household [in the area] and we put things in the Drumchapel News, Clydebank Post etc. To me that is just par for the course. [but as well as this] I am talking about [getting coverage in] Evening Times, ideally the Herald or the Record, but that's more difficult. We have had some TV coverage as well, which changes people's perceptions, the external world's perception of Drumchapel. (Drumchapel SIP officer)

It's important to what we do that we are challenging what people think about care leavers all the time. (Big Step agency partner)

As with the networking role of the SIPs cited in Chapter 8, the role of SIP staff in promoting a positive view of the group/area under focus was clearly of central significance to their work, even if not an explicit strategic priority for their work programme. Although, of course, given the intangibility of measuring successes from this type of activity, that this is not an explicit strategic aim of the SIPs is not surprising.

As noted above, the underlying rhetoric influencing the agenda on social inclusion promoted by the SIPs highlights concerns with economic exclusion both in material terms and in relation to access to the labour market. It also highlights a central concern with addressing the barriers to accessing opportunities and with the negative perceptions of the groups/areas that

are of policy concern. However, underlying the priorities for action, there emerges a more complex picture regarding the behaviour of young people as the group identified as at the centre of the social inclusion policy focus. It is this interplay of the rhetoric of the policy programme and the underlying focus of the work of the SIPs that is now explored in order to consider further the work programme taken forward within the case study SIPs to achieve social inclusion for young people.

Behavioural Explanations for Exclusion

While there were explicit concerns about the context within which exclusion occurs that respondents, both within SIPs and working within the wider policy context, were aware of as framing the policy commitment to achieving social inclusion, there were equally as many concerns about the particular characteristics of the people who were the identified focus of policy attention. At its most general level, this concern with tackling social exclusion related to the problems emerging from the incidence of drug misuse by young people:

Drugs are a big part of the problem both in terms of the number of young people that are taking them and what that then does to their health, their income and their lives generally. (Big Step officer)

The impact of drug misuse in relation to the long-term effects on health and income was identified by several respondents as underpinning the challenges that were to be faced in working to promote social inclusion for young people. Thus, clearly there was an awareness of the behaviour of young people taking part in this activity as causing and reinforcing the experience of social exclusion. As one agency respondent highlights:

For us as an agency it is poverty and things that contribute to making people in poverty such as drug abuse that are the problem... tackling that in any serious way would be a significant step forward. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

While there was a level of awareness and willingness to accept that drug misuse, in particular, was a source of some of the problems experienced by young people, there was also recognition that in acknowledging the problematic aspects of young people's behaviour, this would serve to stigmatise this group of young people further:

I just don't think it's very helpful to spend the whole time talking about what it is that causes the problems, I think [young people get] bad enough press without going around giving more ammunition... (Big Step agency partner)

However, while there was some reticence amongst respondents in both SIPs to discussing the problematic elements of young people's behaviour as potentially suggesting 'victim-blaming', there were elements of the problematic aspects of youth that were openly acknowledged. For

example, as noted in Chapter 6, the focus on young people taking forward within Drumchapel SIP highlights a wish ‘to tackle anti-social behaviour and the incidence of vandalism’, while the Big Step highlighted in their bid for funding a concern to engage with problematic behaviour related to, amongst other things, drug use and criminality. In practice within Drumchapel SIP, this view of young people as a source of ‘trouble’ was common:

[Youth groups] do get young people off the streets and out of trouble. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

[We want to change things] so that we don't have another group coming up who are standing around on street corners at night and causing trouble. We want to try and educate them not to do that. (Drumchapel SIP community representative)

In the Big Step, on the other hand, their work programme around criminality and drug use had not emerged in practice at the time of this study ². Indeed, many respondents were clear that the purpose of their work programme was not to focus on the problems associated with care leavers:

The very nature of young people means that they will make mistakes. That is the whole point of being young and they shouldn't be made to feel that they have failed, they should be picked up and something else should be tried. (Big Step agency partner)

That said, amongst other respondents within this SIP, there was recognition that a lack of aspiration was a real barrier to achieving social inclusion for this group:

The problem we have with combating social exclusion with certain kids and certain areas is they have low aspirations so they don't think that they are not achieving. (Big Step agency partner)

Whether this comment suggests a particular cultural characteristic of some groups of young people (Lewis 1998) or a response to a set of external mechanisms that have framed the perceived opportunities available (Novak 1999), is difficult to say. However, even while rejecting negative views of young people in general, there was an overall recognition of the attitudes of some young people as reinforcing their experiences of exclusion:

There is a culture within Social Work, particularly for young people that have had a residential background, where everything has been done for them. The perception for [care leavers] of wanting a job is that they expect to be given a job and do nothing for it... It is a difficult one for some of them and it can take years. Some also think that Social Work owe them a living and that they should keep them for the rest of their lives. (Big Step agency partner)

² The focus of the work programme that emerged in practice centred on general health and mental health, and to some extent sexual health (through connections with a Greater Glasgow Health Board initiative). The reason given for not taking forward the criminality agenda was said to relate to the fact that other initiatives were taking place elsewhere that the SIP would feed into that would address that priority.

It's really difficult because some of these kids are just not easy to do anything with... the sense of not caring or not wanting to change... that is what we are up against sometimes. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

The explicit suggestion is that young people do not always welcome interventions by agencies, while implicitly there is a suggestion that the factors that create the situation facing some young people are compounded by their lack of engagement with the need to change or take responsibility for change. This concern with young people's lack of aspiration was, however, set within a context where there was understanding of the wider context framing the actions and attitudes of young people. For example:

These are young people that are really up against it, they have to deal with a lot at a young age... a house, kids, money worries, food, all of it. I'm not sure I could have done it at that age... Is it any wonder some go off the rails? (Big Step partner)

There is so little for the kids to do around here at night and at the weekend so they do get a bit wild sometimes. Then they are those who end up getting into trouble as a result... (Drumchapel SIP partner)

While there was recognition that some young people were showing negative attitudes and behaviour, there was little explicit suggestion that these behaviours were the result of individual failings on the part of young people. In fact, even while recognising the problems that were occurring, respondents were clear that the response to these should be to develop improved structures to support and facilitate change. This view of problematic behaviours emerging from structural causes supports the position taken by Wilson (1987) who contends that it is external factors, not related to the individuals themselves, that creates the separation and emergent problematic status of some groups and areas. Some of this may be the result of the agency of others i.e. a lack of social networks and family support (Littlewood & Herkommer 1999) or alternatively relates to more explicitly structural factors, such as availability of suitable employment (MacDonald 1997b). What this suggests, however, is a complex picture where perceived negative behaviours emerge from the interaction of structural and wider agency based barriers to inclusion and the way that these are reacted to by individuals (MacDonald 1997b).

One particular comment made by a community representative in Drumchapel illustrates the complexities of unpacking individual agency and structural barriers in order to better understand what it is that is perceived to cause social exclusion amongst young people:

There is a lot of work to be done to (I hate these words) 'to improve [young people's] well-being, to improve their low self-esteem'. That is all people are talking about just now and it makes me think that people are dragging themselves around, but they are not all like that. A lot of them don't take up the

advantage of a good education because they get to 14 and think it is boring so want out. Then they get there only to discover that they don't like what is there either. Then they find they can't get a job because they haven't got the proper training or whatever. So it is important that we provide services for young people, but also that we make the services accessible to them. (Drumchapel SIP community representative)

The view of this respondent is that the provision is available in terms of education, but that young people are choosing not to participate. While this perspective may be supported by local levels of truancy and low educational attainment, the reasons underlying this lack of participation are likely to be much more complex. For example, for some young people a lack of awareness or belief in the potential gains from education or employment they would likely get may not provide adequate incentive to participate (Roberts 1997). Further, the lack of 'aspirational' role models in the form of family members and peer groups may further reinforce the perception that education is not of great value (Dahrendorf 1987). Nonetheless, the point made by this respondent reflects that there is a concern at present with the behaviour of some young people in terms of their engagement with education. However, it is just as likely that the services offered are not appropriate for those who have more complex personal lives; as an evaluation of young people's involvement in New Deal points out:

Overall, those who reported having no work experience, no qualifications or having no employer references tended to make more progress in employability measures than those with problems with drugs, alcohol, a prison record or homelessness. This may be because New Deal was better able to respond to more conventional labour market problems than to those of a personal or social nature. (Bonjour et al 2002)

This awareness of the need to acknowledge a range of complex personal support needs in facilitating access to employment for those particularly vulnerable social groups was recognised to be a central element of the current policy focus:

Now they are employing social workers, drugs workers, [and] legal assistance... These are services they would never, three years ago, have dreamed of having employed. With this they are starting to move away from the straight job search stuff into the supports that are needed. The reality is though that some people are being dragged screaming and kicking to deal with this... In some cases, a success is if someone has had a wash and a shave for a group work session. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

As with the earlier discussion on young people's engagement with education, this comment highlights a perception of some people as being in need of significant levels of support in order to allow them access to the labour market. In particular, the suggestion is that many people are unwilling participants in this process of change. However, this is further contextualised by an awareness of the barriers in moving from unemployment to work for those that have been outside the labour market for a long period:

[It] is not easy, you are taking people out of their comfort zone, you are challenging their way of life [and] threatening their income, so you have to deal with all of these things. (Big Step agency partner)

What this illustrates is awareness amongst respondents that the current Government have been attempting through their policy initiatives to address the personal and social barriers to employment by focusing on putting the support mechanisms in place to facilitate access to labour market opportunities:

We have seen a real change in recent years since the new Government came into power [in terms of] tackling the barriers to employment. There is much more awareness that childcare is needed to be in place, [and] that we need to work to try and meet the individual needs of each [person] to allow them to take up opportunities... we can't just assume that offering a training course will be enough to address [their needs]. (Big Step agency partner).

What this debate has highlighted is the context within which SIPs take the policy commitment to social inclusion forward. What has emerged is a concern with acknowledging the interplay of agency based and structural barriers to inclusion that highlight concern with the behaviour of individuals, and how this is framed by the cultural and social context within which this behaviour emerges. With this context in place, attention now turns to the responses proposed in practice by the case study SIPs to tackle this range of barriers to social inclusion for young people.

Responding to Exclusion within the Case Study SIPs

It was noted in Chapter 6 that the case study SIPs identify a similar range of issues as requiring attention in order to achieve social inclusion. These relates to promoting initiatives to improve health, increase participation in employment, increase attendance and attainment within education and to encourage greater community involvement in local decision-making. Underlying these thematic priorities are a wider set of policy priorities that link to the concern with achieving social inclusion and the values that the SIP staff and partners perceive should frame the approach taken to work towards achieving these thematic priorities.

As noted earlier, a central element of the approach to achieving social inclusion relates to the promotion of 'opportunities':

I think [social inclusion] means to me that people have a range of choices... the policy agenda is about these things, about choice and opportunity. (Big Step partner)

And that through this, the promotion of opportunities to participate in the labour market is seen as central to the achievement of social inclusion:

I just don't think you can underestimate the importance of work as the route through which to include people within the mainstream of society. (SSIN member)

Underlying this agenda where labour market participation is seen as the central route through which to promoting inclusion, is recognition of the value of labour market participation as offering people a route through which to make a contribution to society:

It seems to me that if people have a job to go to they will not only have a way of earning a living, but they will also feel that they have something to offer. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

From this what begins to emerge is a moral element to the concern with labour market participation, with this form of inclusion seen as a means not only of increasing household income, but also in providing a mechanism to allow people to make a contribution to wider society and the economy at large.

Within the case study SIPs, the concern with increasing opportunities to participate in employment is central to their work programme, either as a direct priority (as within the Big Step) or as a means of tackling wider concerns with poverty and low income (as within Drumchapel SIP) (see Appendix 10 and 11). For example, the approach taken forward within the Big Step to promote education, training and employment focuses on a range of supports to allow care leavers to participate in employment or to work towards this goal in the longer term. Within Drumchapel SIP, there is similarly support for a range of measures to meet the labour market needs of young people and other members of the local community as well as initiatives to provide support to work towards this goal.

As a central element of the concern with moving people towards labour market participation, is an acknowledgement of the range of supports needed to allow the most vulnerable members of society to access opportunities:

I think the social inclusion agenda is about someone trying to look out for folk that other parts of society can't really be bothered with or aren't interested in. Social inclusion is about trying to say that there are lots of reasons for being excluded so we are trying to give them a leg up to level the playing field a bit. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

It's all about recognising that these young people have potential and trying to do something to help them achieve that... If people start feeling valued themselves, then they start to become more normal in the community, getting up for work, having a bank account and the rest. If you give people options and show them that they have potential then they can do [anything]. (Big Step agency partner)

Thus, underlying the promotion of labour market measures, or supports to lead towards this goal, is a wish to address the low self-esteem of young people in order to increase their

aspirations. This approach confirms a point made earlier relating to the importance of addressing the barriers caused by the low aspirations of the most vulnerable young people.

While this broad commitment to labour market participation was a central priority of the work programme and underlying principles of both case study SIPs, there were particular priorities that emerged within the individual case study SIPs that illustrate other aspects of their specific programme for achieving social inclusion. Firstly, within the Big Step, much of the work programme around health and accommodation is not explicitly concerned with promoting labour market participation, although increasing availability of suitable accommodation and improving health will have the indirect effect of facilitating the circumstances under which labour market participation can occur. Rather, the focus of these objectives is to increase the range of supports and services that will meet the specific needs of this group of young people. As with the underlying motivation for promoting labour market participation encouraging financial independence and reducing the economic and social costs of welfare dependence, these measures similarly aim to address the 'social costs' of problems such as homelessness, drug misuse and mental health difficulties that are associated with this group of young people (PAT 12; Beihal et al 1995). Thus, while the explicit focus of policy is to promote opportunities and encourage labour market participation, the wider motivation for this focus lies with the concern to intervene in the cycle of deprivation to reduce the impact of risk associated with vulnerable young people.

Within Drumchapel SIP, it has been noted earlier the explicit concern with tackling the problematic aspects of young people's behaviour at the neighbourhood level. As a result of this focus, one of the factors seen as important to achieving social inclusion at the neighbourhood level was through the involvement of young people within the local neighbourhood setting:

[Social inclusion is] about including people in their community and society more, and giving young people more chance to be active in their community. (Drumchapel SIP community representative)

While this suggests a relatively limited approach to achieving social inclusion, it is an approach that links to the wider policy commitment to promoting community involvement within SIPs in order to link people into local decision-making and encourage local people to take responsibility for sustaining developments at the local level (Scottish Executive 2000). Indeed, this focus is consistent with the findings presented in Chapter 10 on youth involvement in the case study SIPs, which illustrates that adult respondents in Drumchapel SIP were in part motivated to encourage young people to participate in the SIP to ensure sustainability of

developments by focusing on the 'future' role of young people as adult residents. Further, the promotion of active involvement as an aspect of the social inclusion agenda suggests an additional route through which young people are being managed; with their involvement in the SIP offering one further route through which to manage their problem behaviour at the neighbourhood level by encouraging them to take responsibility for changes in their community. This focus is further reinforced by the measures undertaken to manage the free time of young people in order both to limit their negative behaviour and control their use of public space:

If you provide some sort of night time activities for young people you won't have them running about, because older people, irrespective of whether they are up to no good or not, the mere fact that the kids are there in groups makes them scared. We are keen to get them away doing something else, because if we don't they might not be bad now, but they might start drinking or start getting involved in it. If we get them involved in something it aims to stop things starting. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

The concern to promote social inclusion for young people at the neighbourhood level, therefore, centres on reducing the perception of risk to other residents within the area (Crawshaw 2001). This approach, by focusing on managing the activities of young people, is likely to be of benefit to other residents while also offering opportunities for participation for young people. However, by managing the movements and activities of young people, this approach also suggests an implicit form of social control over young people (Waiton 2001; Watt & Stenson 1998).

While this shows that there are challenges that emerge from the work undertaken to promote social inclusion for young people, it is not clear to what extent the focus on managing and controlling young people provides the driving focus behind the agenda of social inclusion that is promoted within the case study SIPs. In contrast, the earlier noted concerns with structural barriers to exclusion emerging from the experiences of poverty and lack of opportunities provides an alternative perspective from which to consider the agenda on social inclusion. The question for this final section then is to consider the extent to which the central concern of the agenda on social inclusion is to focus on either social justice or social control as the guiding principle for the work of the case study SIPs.

Promoting Social Justice or Social Control?

The discussion to this point has highlighted a central concern with promoting opportunities to participate in the labour market as the route through which to achieve social inclusion for young people (Lister 2000; White 1997). Alongside this, however, has been an acknowledgement of the need to address the wider social costs and problems associated with

the social exclusion of particular groups of young people. Emerging from this interplay of concern with encouraging young people to play an active role in society through participation in the labour market while also challenging their problematic activities, is an acknowledgement of the need to link opportunities with obligations:

Partly it is about making sure that people take up the opportunities that are available. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

While the priorities of ensuring the provision of new services, challenging negative perceptions of neighbourhoods and people, and providing opportunities to participate in the labour market are seen as central factors in the work undertaken by the SIPs, it is expected that in return young people will take up the opportunities that are being offered (Field 1997). As a result, the policy commitment to reciprocity noted in Chapter 2 as being central to the values of the New Labour policy approach, is shown to be carried through in the practices adopted by the SIPs. The commitment to social inclusion, therefore, brings with it a clear relationship between rights and responsibilities, with individuals offered opportunities on the understanding that they will play an active role in responding to these opportunities (Deacon & Mann 1997).

Clearly, the policy commitment to tackling the barriers to participating in mainstream society is an approach intended to open up the potential for young people to play an active role in society. Indeed, the reciprocity between rights and responsibilities that underpins the policy focus could be argued to offer the mechanism to link young people into mainstream society by committing a range of agencies to provide the supports required to meet need, while in return expecting young people to take up the opportunities put in place. This does suggest strong links to the social integration discourse (SID) outlined by Levitas (1998), which encourages active citizenship and labour market participation as the main routes through which to tackle social exclusion.

However, while this concern with promoting reciprocity provides a context within which policy has developed, the policy commitment to promoting social inclusion through active participation does suggest particular difficulties for young people, not the least of which is the implicit moral agenda that emerges from the interventions taken forward. For example, at the neighbourhood level, the concern with taking young people off the streets is promoted in order to reduce the perception of risk to other residents; suggesting that the needs of the young people become secondary to those of the wider community. For young people, however, public space offers a location within which to develop as individuals without adult

surveillance (Hall et al 1999). Thus, the wishes of the community as a whole to manage public space through controlling the activities of young people may meet their concern to improve the perception of the area as a safe place to live, but at the same time increases the controls over young people and limits their freedom at the neighbourhood level.

This concern with the moral elements of young people's behaviour is less explicitly related to the maintenance of social control within the context of the Big Step. However, as noted previously, the concern to limit the social and economic costs of the problems associated with care leavers does suggest a need to manage and provide interventions to meet the needs of this group. Further, by focusing on the risks associated with this group's vulnerability, a 'victim' focus emerges, which further serves to pathologise this particular group of young people. To some extent, this pathologising of young people is an inevitable corollary of the whole ethos of social inclusion, which puts addressing the needs of the most vulnerable groups, both within and beyond the most deprived areas, at the centre of its policy focus. Nonetheless, the concern with social control remains through this focus on care leavers, although not as explicitly as at the neighbourhood level. Rather, within this context, social control is seen through the wish to manage the trajectories of this group of young people, by limiting the extent of their problematic behaviour and steering them towards useful productive lives, at which point they can fulfil their obligations to participate in mainstream economic activity.

The links to the moral underclass discourse (MUD) (Levitas 1998) that emerge from this focus on the problems caused by or associated with young people suggest that this element of the policy agenda, while not explicitly cited as a driving force behind the work programme being promoted, provides a strong steer for the work that is undertaken. However, as noted above, by linking the social integration approach with an obligation to participate, the worst effects of the problems associated with young people are dealt with while also offering the positive focus associated with a programme intended to promote opportunities to participate in mainstream society.

The contract created by promoting reciprocity through provision of opportunities and the expectation that young people will respond to these measures is to some extent an inevitable corollary of the policy focus taken within SIPs, with the whole ethos of social inclusion being to promote an active role for excluded groups (see Chapter 2). However, it is worth noting that the policy commitment to 'active participation' facilitated through the 'equal opportunities' agenda raises particular difficulties for the most vulnerable young people. First, there is no explicit acknowledgement of the extent to which the policy commitment to

promoting social inclusion takes adequate account of the different starting positions of individuals when accessing perceived 'opportunities' (Levitas 2000). For example, it is not clear to what extent any individualised programme of interventions intended to offer 'support' takes account of relatively chaotic lifestyles that may limit the ability of some young people to 'fit' into formalised support mechanisms.

Second, the underlying meritocratic values promoted through the agenda on equality of opportunity provide rewards for those who 'succeed', while undervaluing those who do not respond well to a reward based system (White 1997). Indeed, the ability to respond to meritocratic incentives is likely to be further facilitated or limited by class position (Collins 1999) and access to informal family and social resources (Littlewood & Herkommer 1999). Thus, while equality of opportunity may be the chosen response to encourage greater levels of social inclusion, this approach takes insufficient account of the context within which young people engage with the policy programme that promotes 'social inclusion' by focusing on encouraging social integration and addressing the moral underclass position of the most excluded young people.

Finally, what is notably absent from the practical implementation of measures to address social exclusion are attempts to address the third discourse noted by Levitas (1998) as relating to redistribution (RED). While there is acknowledgement within the SIPs of poverty as an underlying cause of social exclusion, and a recognition by those working within the parameters of the SIP agenda that this experience of structural barriers such as poverty and discrimination frame the problems encountered by excluded groups, there are no explicit measures employed to address the redistributive imperative. This is hardly surprising given the focus of SIPs being on the micro level actions and outcomes experienced by excluded groups/areas. Indeed, the positioning of SIPs means that their focus is one that addresses the effects of socio-economic inequality (resulting in poverty, discrimination and unequal access to power and resources) rather than being in a position to influence the emergence of these phenomena. In short, SIPs are not in a position to do anything about the existence of inequalities in the welfare and tax system that have a differential effect on different social groups and thus focus on addressing the effects of these inequalities on the most excluded groups/areas.

The work of the SIPs is, however, set within this wider social and economic context and attempts to respond to the effects of social exclusion in relation to the actions and attitudes of young people, while also acknowledging the wider socio-economic factors that lead to these behaviours emerging. There is, thus, in practice an awareness of a complex interplay of behavioural and structural explanations for exclusion that are responded to through a mixture

of new services and policy programmes intended to increase opportunities to participate in the labour market and mainstream society more generally. However, alongside this is a less explicit concern to manage the problems that are associated with young people both in terms of the costs of their behaviours and the effects on other members of society. As a result of this interplay, it is difficult to unpack the relative importance of the social justice or social control elements of the policy framework that is being taken forward under the banner of promoting social inclusion. Indeed, it is likely that both are seen as justifiable elements of the programme in that there is a rational expectation that the negative effects of social exclusion are limited through a programme that is intended to encourage greater social integration.

Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to reflect on the influence of the social inclusion focus on the work programme undertaken by the case study SIPs. It has been argued in this chapter that the policy commitment to social inclusion promoted within the case study SIPs is framed by the overarching policy rhetoric of equality of opportunity as a means of encouraging active participation, most coherently through initiatives that aim to encourage young people into labour market participation either now or in the future. What is missing from this agenda however is an explicit acknowledgement of the unequal access different groups have to social and economic resources including social and cultural capital, class position and financial resources.

The particular responses to this agenda by the two case study SIPs have slightly different emphases. In particular, Drumchapel SIP have identified an explicit problem-causing view of young people, within which their work programme highlights a commitment to tackling the problems associated with young people by encouraging their involvement in activities that will take them 'off the streets' (Watt & Stenson 1998). In the Big Step, on the other hand, there is no explicit concern through their programme of work to tackle the problem-causing aspects of the behaviour of this group of young people. However, the concern to tackle the costs of the behaviour of young people, such as drug misuse and homelessness, suggests an implicit intention to reduce the problems associated with this group and to instead encourage their long-term integration into the labour market or other 'valuable' social contributions. Thus, the overarching perception of the policy concern with promoting active participation has been not only to reduce the social costs of young people's behaviour, but also to increase the social contributions made by young people at either the neighbourhood or wider societal level.

The activities taken forward within the case study SIPs are, therefore, resonant of a wider policy commitment to reducing the costs of young people's activities on wider society. This concern was shown in Chapter 2 to be promoted both by the Social Exclusion Unit within the UK Government (SEU 1999) as well as within the Scottish policy context under the banner of promoting 'social justice' (Scottish Executive 1999a). The current policy commitment to funding SIPs focusing on the social inclusion of young people, therefore, needs to be considered within this overarching policy context. However, with this focus comes a cost to young people in terms of the limits to their freedom to make mistakes and develop their own route through to adulthood. Contrasted with this are wider concerns with managing the negative behaviour of young people in terms of the adverse effects on their own lives as well as that of wider society.

The practice that has emerged within the case study SIPs shows that there are attempts to interact with the complex reality of a range of structural and wider agency effects on the lives of young people, while framing this within a context where there is understanding of the actions and attitudes of young people that emerge in this setting. Both of these factors are justifiable concerns if the aim is to limit the problematic aspects of young people's behaviour and to encourage greater integration into mainstream society, as has been shown to be the priorities of the policy programme promoted within SIPs. The extent to which social justice or social control are more or less dominant within this setting is not possible to unpack clearly. In part, this is explained by the fact that the concern with social control is likely to offer a rational response to the negative actions and attitudes associated with young people by limiting the costs and problems for young people and others of their behaviour. The focus of the SIPs' work being to increase involvement and opportunities within mainstream society is to some extent part of the policy commitment to promoting social justice by increasing choice for individuals. However, by focusing centrally on social integration as the guiding principle, the question that remains unanswered is what happens to those young people that do not take up the opportunities offered through this policy imperative. While there is recognition of the barriers in place, the agenda on reciprocity suggests that, where young people do not take up the opportunities offered, there would be ensuing sanctions. Thus, where social inclusion as a policy commitment does acknowledge that barriers exist, in providing supports and responses to these the focus returns to 'the excluded' to engage with the opportunities without regard to individual ability to take up these opportunities.

Chapter 8: Promoting Strategic Working?

Introduction

The central concern of this chapter is to consider the question of how the policy agenda on strategic working is taken forward through the working practices of the case study SIPs. To address this question, the main body of this discussion focuses on setting out the working practices of the case study SIPs employed to take forward the strategic aims outlined at the time of applying for funding. Three themes are identified as important to the working practices of the case study SIPs: the role of the SIPs in delivering services; the extent to which resource sharing is promoted; and the importance of networking externally with other policy and practice developments. Underlying this discussion of the working practices of the SIPs is the wider question of how the concept of strategic working is played out through the working practices adopted by the case study SIPs. As was noted in Chapter 3, there are two distinct approaches to strategic working. The first relates to the achievement of the SIPs' strategic aims, while the second relates to the agenda on sustainability and capacity building emerging from the activities undertaken by the SIPs. The chapter, therefore, explores the extent to which the working practices of the case study SIPs result in a focus on achieving the strategic aims of the SIP or attempt to respond to this agenda on sustainability and capacity building.

The chapter illustrates that divergent working practices have emerged within the two case study SIPs. Within Drumchapel SIP, traditional project funding emerges as the central element of their work. This is the result of historical influences and the range of factors steering the agenda at the neighbourhood level. Within the Big Step, on the other hand, their role has emerged as more concerned with influencing mainstream agency partners, with funding used to support pilot services within mainstream agencies. As a result of the chosen approaches to working taken by these SIPs, it is argued that both SIPs are explicitly working to achieve their strategic aims. However, only in the Big Step is the wider agenda on strategic working relating to achieving sustainability being promoted through the chosen working approach taken forward.

Delivering Services

As was shown in Chapter 6, at the time of applying for SIP funding, both SIPs set out to achieve their strategic aims through the delivery of a range of new services. While Drumchapel SIP was to fund local projects to meet local need, the Big Step aimed to employ a number of staff that would directly provide services to young people. However, as was noted in Chapter 6, the Big Step changed its approach during the first year of funding and moved away from a

central focus on service delivery as the means of achieving social inclusion for young people. The discussion presented in this section, therefore, outlines the approach to service delivery within both SIPs and the motivations for the approach taken.

Drumchapel SIP: the project funding model

As will be shown below, and considered further in the discussion on resource sharing later, for Drumchapel SIP, *project funding* forms a central plank of the approach that is being taken to achieve social inclusion in the local area, both in relation to targeting the needs of young people and more generally through their overall work programme. What this project funding approach involves is explained in the discussion that follows.

The first thing to note is that project funding involves both individual partners and external bodies, including community groups, the local voluntary sector and mainstream public agencies, putting in applications to the SIP to access a share of the SIP fund. To successfully access this funding source, applicants are expected to illustrate that the 'project' to be funded will offer an innovative new service that both fills a gap in local service provision and supports the strategic priorities of the SIP. This confirms the point noted in Chapter 3, that 'projects' refer to specialist services with a time limited funding allocation.

Several SIP partners cite the dominance of this element of the work pursued by Drumchapel SIP, often at the expense of other aspects of their work programme:

In the past it has been that a lot of applications have come to the table and this takes up a lot of time in the meeting, which impacts on how much time we have for other things. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

While the extensive time involvement in processing applications for funding was evident from an early stage in Drumchapel SIP's life, the question of why this approach has dominated the work of this SIP is perhaps of more interest. There is some evidence to suggest that the centrality of project funding to the work programme being promoted by Drumchapel SIP relates to the history of this approach within area-based initiatives. For example, until relatively recently, Drumchapel had received Urban Programme¹ funding to support local projects undertaken by the community and voluntary sector. This has potentially created a particularly positive view of project funding, in particular by community representatives:

¹ See Chapter 3 for more on the history of urban policy programmes, including the Urban Programme in Scotland.

... we have had [initiatives] here before that have allowed really good local projects to develop. I think the SIP will carry that work on through new projects... (Drumchapel SIP community representative)

The project funding approach also allows Drumchapel SIP to meet two of the Scottish Executive's² policy objectives for SIPs, relating to 'encouraging community involvement' and 'achieving impact' (see Chapter 6). The community involvement agenda is promoted through community representatives being involved in the decision-making processes to select the projects that will get funding. More generally, through the opportunities afforded for local community groups to access this funding source to support local projects, this approach also allows local community groups to be actively involved in the programme for achieving social inclusion in the local area. It is likely that community members, and supporters of this approach as a route to deliver change at the local level, would be supportive of project funding for these reasons.

The policy concern with achieving impact also fits with the project funding approach as it allows relatively quick outputs to be shown in terms of numbers of projects receiving funding or the percentage of the fund being used to support local service initiatives. Of course, many of these developments will merely illustrate potential impact from the action taken, and only through longer-term evaluation could any measurable impact be shown. This impact focus is further reinforced by the tangibility of project funding, which allows SIPs to move from planning to implementation³ within a very short time frame, and with this to report quite quickly that they have given a specific amount of money to a specific number of local initiatives. As illustration of this, in relation to Drumchapel SIP, Appendix 15 shows that at the end of their first year of funding this SIP had allocated approximately £1.37 million to 38 local initiatives (representing 84% of their total spend in that year⁴).

The annual reporting and annual funding framework that the Scottish Executive put in place for SIPs provides an additional driver to encourage SIPs to take a relatively short-term focus to their work, and through this to potentially go down the road of project funding. Firstly, through the obligation to publish annual reports outlining activities undertaken throughout the previous year, project funding allows SIPs to illustrate tangible activities at a very early

² I will talk about 'the Scottish Executive' throughout this discussion, but of course, until July 1999 (when devolved administrations were created), they were 'the Scottish Office'.

³ See Chapter 3 for more on the cyclical process of policy development, implementation and evaluation.

⁴ As Appendix 9 illustrates, Drumchapel SIP applied for and was allocated £2.5 million in their first year. That they only spent £1.6 million in their first year (£1.37 on projects) was the result of the Partnership not starting work until August 1999, meaning that they got only 8 months of funding for that financial year.

stage in the life of SIPs, as was noted above. However, this also means there is pressure to show results and progress made over relatively short time periods. Secondly, the annual funding cycle further steers this project focus through encouraging SIPs to spend their funding allocations during each financial year. This annual cycle does not guarantee that unspent funds can be carried forward to the next financial year, which leads to pressure to spend the funding quickly to ensure that future funding is made available:

... an under-spend is not something that is palatable to go back with. You can imagine going back to the Scottish Executive and saying 'we don't need £2.5 million'. I can understand that tension. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

This shows that the restrictions of an annual reporting and funding cycle seem to drive an output focus while encouraging short-termism in spending plans. Within Drumchapel SIP, this has led to the project funding approach being accepted as the only way to spend the funding provided:

Q: Why was project funding something that the SIP decided to focus on?

A: What else would it spent it [the SIP fund] on? (Drumchapel SIP officer)

There are two possible explanations for this view. Firstly, it may be that the project funding approach genuinely does offer the only route through which to spend their allocated funding within the annual cycle. Secondly, it suggests a lack of recognition on the part of the SIP officers of an alternative way of working:

It's inevitable that the SIP will be service delivery when the staff is service delivery focused; if they were strategy focused it would work differently. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

The suggestion from this is that the SIP officers play an influential role in the approach taken to achieve social inclusion through SIP activities. Later discussions on the approach taken forward within the Big Step similarly show the influence of SIP officers on steering the working approach within that SIP.

While accepting that there are a number of factors steering SIPs towards taking a project funding approach, there were respondents who were concerned about the limitations of this approach:

I am not convinced within SIPs that we are not just running around funding small projects here and there. I have grave reservations about that. Not that they are not good projects, but we have money on the table and we have to spend it in a certain period so we fund everything, which means that a project is funded for a period of time and then the money runs out and it is dropped. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

The view cited here, as was noted earlier, is that project funding reacts to the availability of short-term funding. The problem is that it is difficult to assess the likely long-term impact from taking this approach.

However, the steer to take this approach is further compounded by Glasgow City Council reducing their financial support to local projects in deprived areas:

It is really difficult because there are projects, really good projects, that have received council funding in the past, but that they [the Council] can't (or won't) fund any more... [These projects] struggle with trying to get finance to allow them to keep going, some have gone under as a result. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

This reduction in City Council support for local community projects could relate back to discussions presented in Chapter 3 on the historical availability of Urban Programme funding allowing the City Council to bid directly to the Scottish Office for additional funds to support local community projects in deprived areas (Turok & Hopkins 1997). The loss of this funding source, and its replacement through Programme for Partnership with an annual funding round using a competitive bidding process (Scottish Office 1996), along with cuts in mainstream budgets to local authorities (Gordon & Irvine 2001) means greater difficulties for locally based community initiatives to access funding to support local projects. This is likely to create additional pressure on area-based SIPs to fill this gap, by using the SIP budget to provide financial support to local projects.

It is not only pressure from the community, the views of the SIP staff and changes to the funding available to local community projects that has steered Drumchapel SIP to fund projects, it is also acknowledged that the rhetoric of strategic working does not fit with the reality of partnership working as it occurs at present in this SIP:

Everyone talks about moving away from funding projects and facilitating a more strategic approach to public services, [which] is where the money is... But how do you move people away from [funding projects]? Essentially it is a cultural change needed within all of these organisations [the partner agencies]. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

While it is clear that the policy rhetoric of partnership working is intended to convey a commitment to strategic working as influencing mainstream spending plans, as later discussions on resource sharing will consider further, how this is to be done when mainstream agencies are not bringing their budgets to the table within SIPs is difficult to foresee.

What we see from this discussion of the approach taken by Drumchapel SIP to deliver services is the significance of the historical influence of project funding within area-based urban policy programmes. Within this context, the range of influences that steer the approach taken suggest difficulties with challenging traditional perspectives on how area-based

initiatives should work. In particular, the annual funding cycle is a dominant influence on the continued use of project funding. This adjoined with the expectation from the community that funding will be used to fund local projects suggests constraints on this SIP to consider alternative approaches, assuming that these might be pursued. That said, the Big Step has taken a different approach and therefore offers the chance to compare and reflect on the potential value of the two approaches to service delivery promoted by the case study SIPs.

The Big Step: the service development model

In contrast to the approach taken within Drumchapel SIP, those involved with the Big Step perceive their approach to service delivery to differ from the project funding approach outlined above. The *service development* model they promote is less concerned with using the SIP budget to fund external projects; rather they focus on promoting new service developments generated within the Partnership:

... there is service delivery that is provided through a third party, a bit like the area-based SIPs, nearly all of their activities are done in that way, and then there is service delivery through here [the Partnership]. (Big Step officer)

The approach to service delivery taken forward by the Big Step involves different uses of their funding to support services, as will be outlined further below. The key distinction between the project funding and the service development approach is that the project funding focuses on administering the SIP fund to support externally generated ideas for projects that the SIP agrees to financially support, whereas the service development model explicitly rejects this third party funding approach:

... we don't invite bids from outside agencies for our funds, that isn't how we want to develop services (Big Step officer)

Before outlining the practice that has emerged within the Big Step and the influences that have steered their approach, it is worth noting that the service development model is different from the planned activities set out in the application for funding submitted to the Scottish Office in early 1999. As was noted in Chapter 6, when applying for funding, the Big Step planned to allocate their funding to employ a range of staff that, it was implied, would directly deliver a range of new services for young people. However, during the first year of the SIP's life, the focus changed. The service development model that emerged involved neither funding third parties to provide services, nor the original plan of employing a staff team to provide services directly to care leavers. Instead, the SIP has focused on promoting a service delivery approach that emphasise 'piloting' service provisions within mainstream agencies, using time-limited SIP funding and the service being delivered and managed inside the partner

agency. The motivation for working in this way is that mainstream agencies may be inclined to carry on funding these initiatives in the longer term:

The SIP is undertaking pilots of ideas that we hope mainstream service agencies will take up once they have been shown to be a success. (Big Step agency partner)

In addition, this SIP has also been developing services involving resource sharing with others to link up with other specialist and mainstream funding sources to create new services. This part of their work is similar to the project funding approach promoted within Drumchapel SIP, with the fund being used to provide financial support to develop a new service with joint funding. Again this does not involve applications from third parties approaching the SIP for funding, rather these jointly funded ventures are either generated by the SIP who develop ideas that seek funding from specialist or partner sources, or involve financially supporting an initiative developed by a partner agency on a discretionary basis.

One further distinction between the service delivery role of the Big Step compared with Drumchapel SIP is that the Big Step's approach to service delivery promotes an active role for the Partnership in steering how the SIP fund is spent. To illustrate, the project funding approach reacts to applications for funding and makes decisions about which to fund based on whether they link in to the strategic aims of the Partnership⁵. In this way, Drumchapel SIP is more passive in its approach to service delivery through not playing a role in steering what developments are undertaken, although they do choose which to fund from those that apply. The approach taken within the Big Step, on the other hand, involves the SIP partners playing a role in steering the development of services through the pilot services being developed, implemented and managed inside the partner agency. As a result, the Partnership is identified as playing a role in influencing how individual partners develop and deliver new services:

I don't think that they [the SIP] should be a direct service provider, but should be more of an influence on how services can be provided and facilitated [by partners/others]. (Big Step agency partner)

Perhaps as a result of taking this approach, the service delivery function of the Big Step has emerged as much less dominant than within Drumchapel SIP. As Appendix 16 shows, in 2001/02, 41% of the SIP budget (approximately £293 thousand) went on funding new initiatives, while 44% (approximately £277 thousand) paid for employment of the staff team. This is quite an interesting development given the original plan to use the majority of the SIP

⁵ It is not the purpose of this study to reflect on the decision making process within Drumchapel SIP on what projects they fund. However, it is worth noting that a range of factors are considered, including whether the project is likely to deliver what it intends, whether it is providing a useful local service, whether the most cost effective approach is being taken and whether the project will work towards meeting the strategic aims of the SIP.

fund (75%) to pay for a staff team who would provide a range of services directly to young people. The service development model that has replaced this maintains a large staff team but they are not service delivery focused, rather their role is to take forward the new working approach that is promoted by this SIP. Indeed, the staff themselves acknowledge the conscious steer that has emerged in using the staff team to take forward the 'influencing' role developed in this SIP:

... the consensus [has been] that as a partnership the emphasis had to be developmental, that the work that would take place would very much be about influencing priorities, influencing budgets, influencing the way in which agencies work and influencing the way in which they serve the group of young people we are concerned with. As a staff member it is about facilitating those influences in a very strategic, co-ordinated developmental way. Sustainability would be a key part of that... It seemed natural then that to allow that to happen you had to employ a staff team with a responsibility for actually taking that forward. (Big Step officer)

Indeed, this approach is recognised as requiring a greater investment from partners as well as staff due to the need to have partners participating in the changes in services that are proposed through their role in delivering and managing service developments:

[The service development model] is more difficult because you are more dependent on partners/agencies buying in to that and working with you on it beyond lip-service. (Big Step officer)

Underlying this changed approach has been a steer to encourage a much more 'strategic' role for the Big Step, rather than focusing singly on funding new services:

When we started out we intended to fill gaps in services for care leavers... There were lots of changes and discussions in the first year that made us rethink that and work to a more strategic agenda than one concerned principally with service delivery as the means of making things better for these young people. (Big Step partner)

As was noted in Chapter 3, this perspective on strategic working relates to the wider notion of using the partnership setting to focus on promoting sustainability of developments:

Being strategic is about more than making sure that young people have services that meet their needs, it is about making sure that the actions we take have a lasting effect. By focusing on service delivery we were just going to be filling holes in provision, that approach doesn't work to influence or change the way mainstream services are planned... (Big Step officer)

While the above shows that the staff and partners perceive that this style of working suggests a strategic approach (a point that will be explored further later), what is interesting is the lack of any specific acknowledgement by staff or partners of the implications in changing their approach. For example, there was no recognition within the Big Step's first annual report of the changes made, albeit that staff and partners were clearly aware that a change in approach had occurred. Further, there was no explicit acknowledgement that the Scottish Executive as

funder might have a view on this change in approach. In part, this is explained by the fact that at the time of applying for funding, the SIP had not fully developed their plans:

... the bid was very well written but the thing that was very vague was the staffing and the money and how that would be split up... So, yes, it has moved quite a bit. If you looked at the original bid there was very loosely defined workers, and it looked like all service provision to me. (Big Step officer)

More importantly, the lack of any clarity from the Scottish Executive on what it was that they expected from this SIP seems to have allowed the opportunity to change approach without repercussions:

I get the impression that [the Scottish Executive] are picking their way in terms of our work and agenda. I think that gives us quite a lot of latitude, if I am being honest. I think that they are trying to make the effort to get into the agenda and understand the dynamics.

Q: Is this something to do with that fact that [this is a thematic] SIP?

A: I think entirely. Not just a thematic SIP, but a thematic SIP with a very specific remit. So there is an area of expertise there which people can tap into. (Big Step officer)

While this suggests that there is acknowledgement of the expertise of the staff, of greater significance is the fact that thematic SIPs were viewed as ‘experimental’; as a result, they were in a position to explore new approaches:

[Thematic SIPs] were, very much, experimental... They were introduced to bring an additional dimension, but we had no preconceived ideas about how they would work... (Scottish Executive, senior civil servant)

This lack of clarity by the Scottish Executive on their expectations of thematic SIPs explains the Big Step being able to try different approaches in a way that was less likely to be allowed in area-based SIPs, where there was a longer history of this form of working so a clearer policy perspective on what was expected. This confirms similar points raised in Chapter 6 where it was recognised that there was a lack of awareness of the expectations of the Scottish Executive on what they wanted from thematic SIPs in advance of funding being allocated.

While this explains the lack of steer from the Scottish Executive, it is clear that other factors were influential in taking forward the approach pursued within the Big Step. The first relates to the employment of the staff team. Here it is argued that the employment of the Partnership Manager, and then the staff team, has introduced different ideas about the direction of the SIP’s work:

[The approach] has changed in two phases I would say. One immediately after [the Partnership Manager] came in to post... [This phase was] more service orientated in terms of employment training

and actual service provision. The existence of Launchpad⁶ made that quite a problematic area to get into. It was a bit like stealing their territory. Then the second stage has been as staff have come in to post how people have perceived their positions, whether it is service provision or not. (Big Step officer)

The steer from the staff team in moving away from taking part directly in service delivery for care leavers as the main approach to achieving social inclusion is clear from comments made in interview:

I don't think that the SIP should be involved in service delivery. I am clearly of that mind. I can understand that there is strong pull towards that, but ... I am firmly of the view that [the SIP] should be about the development approach and strategic approaches. (Big Step officer)

A second related influence on the move away from the staff being direct service delivery providers comes from the increased awareness of the links between the SIP and the wider context within which they are working:

There is literally millions of pounds going around. The last thing we want is people operating in a pigeonhole; that includes us. I think that we should remember that we are only a small bit of a much bigger set of people dealing with service and strategy. We agonised over whether we should be service deliverers but, in that context, this is not that big a question. There is a big sea change and we are in a good place to impact on that. (Big Step officer)

The importance of this element of the Big Step's work through their networking role is noted later when reflecting on the links made by the SIPs with external policy and practice developments.

The third issue of importance to understanding the influences on the approach taken in this SIP relates to the lack of any clearly defined community that has potential to influence the approach taken. As is illustrated in Chapter 10, with the exception of their involvement in the SIP Board, young people within the Big Step do not play a central role in the decision-making settings of the SIP, and thus arguably do not have any significant degree of influence over the activities of the SIP. Thus, there is less evidence to suggest that the Big Step are as accountable as Drumchapel SIP to any particular community for the approach that they take. This, along with the lack of any historic use of Urban Programme funding, mean that partners and staff are less constrained in the decisions they make about how to work.

While many staff and partners were positive about the potential of the service development model through its perceived strategic influencing role, there were respondents who

⁶ As was noted in Chapter 6, Launchpad is a Social Work funded project providing careers support to care leavers living in North and West Glasgow.

highlighted concerns about this approach. As with the project funding approach, the greatest concern related to the potential sustainability of activities funded through SIPs:

... because there has been so little money in the agencies, the SIP has had to [fund services directly]... The difficulty is if you establish services with SIP money, what happens at the end. (Big Step agency partner)

The concern that underpins this view is that, while SIP funding may only be intended to temporarily fund 'pilot' and match-funding initiatives with the aim that partner agencies would take over funding in future years, this relies on agencies having capacity or a willingness to support these initiatives in the longer term. The argument is that, in the absence of available mainstream funding, pilot service developments funded by the SIP but delivered within mainstream agencies face the same risks of closure as with project funding. In practice, while this study was undertaken when the SIPs were at an early stage in their lives, there does seem to be some evidence of partner agencies investing in the developments generated by the Big Step, and to a lesser extent providing funding to support developments funded by Drumchapel SIP. The extent to which this resource sharing by partners is occurring is considered further below.

Within the Big Step then, there was a shift in the focus of their work after they received their funding. As part of this, there was a move away from a central focus on service delivery to instead develop services in the Partnership that would be delivered inside mainstream agencies, while focusing on playing an influencing role on the way that mainstream service providers address the needs of care leavers. That they were able to take this step and to move away from the traditional project funding approach, has been shown to be centrally linked to the much more permissive approach to thematic SIPs taken by the Scottish Executive as well as through the influence of the staff team in promoting this developmental approach. The lack of any powerful community to make demands on the direction of their work further provides context for the lack of constraints on their decision-making. Indeed, in taking this approach it is likely that they have further reduced the contribution that young people could make to influencing the work programme of this SIP.

Resource-Sharing

Part of the service delivery function of the SIPs is the joint funding of initiatives between the SIPs and other funding sources, either partner agencies or other specialist funding sources. The discussion in Chapter 3 on the role of SIPs in bringing resources towards the SIPs' priorities illustrated three ways that this could be done: leveraging of specialist funding towards SIP priorities, pooling of mainstream resources within the Partnerships, or bending of

mainstream budgets towards the priorities of the SIPs. Here, reflections are made on the extent to which these three forms of resource use have been emerging within the practice of the case study SIPs in order to better understand how the case study SIPs have been joining their funding up with others.

Looking firstly at pooling, there was a view by Scottish Executive respondents that pooling of resources was a central element of the partnership approach throughout recent urban policy initiatives:

The whole concept of the Partnerships has always been (even within New Life Partnerships) to have people sitting round the table bringing their own budgets to the table. They wouldn't just sit and discuss how to spend the SIP fund. That has not really worked [in practice]. (Scottish Executive, senior civil servant)

However, as the above comment acknowledges, there has been no evidence of any pooling of mainstream budgets within previous urban policy programmes. From observation of SIP activities and information contained in their annual reports, there is similarly no evidence of SIPs promoting the pooling of mainstream funding sources as a priority:

We have a job to do to make sure that the SIP is looking at all the budgets of all the agencies and all the issues... I have x pounds to spend in this area and nobody has ever come to me from the SIP Board [to ask about this]. (Drumchapel SIP partner)

... we don't generally focus on what, as an agency, we spend on [care leavers]... We don't have spare resources anyway, but we haven't had that conversation within the Board. (Big Step partner)

As the latter quote highlights, it is not only the pooling of resources that is highlighted, there is also acknowledgement of the agenda on bending mainstream resources towards the priorities of the SIPs. Several respondents stressed their lack of ability to respond to this policy agenda on bringing their own resources to the SIPs, either through pooling or bending of additional resources:

... all of our resources are committed for the next few years, so we are not really in a position to bring anything to the table, even if that was on the agenda. (Drumchapel SIP partner)

In some cases, partners were not in a position within their organisation to bring resources to the SIP⁷. More often, however, partners were highlighting the lack of manoeuvrability of their budgets to change their spending to fit in with SIP priorities. This point is not to suggest that there is no bending of mainstream budgets taking place within both SIPs. Indeed, later discussions on this subject will show that there is some evidence of bending occurring.

⁷ This is particularly the case for SIP Board members working at operational level. While efforts were made to select partners who were in positions of seniority with influence over the budget of their organisation, in some cases, operational level staff were present.

However, it illustrates that for some partners there is awareness of the limits of both pooling and bending within the SIPs on two counts: first, through the practice of the SIPs, which do not hold partners to account for their spending practices; and second through the practice of the partner agencies, where they cannot or will not share their budget with the SIPs.

One further explanation for the lack of any evidence of the SIPs working to pool the resources of partners is related to the limited availability of information on the budget levels of mainstream agency partners. Within the Big Step’s annual reports, for example, it is pointed out that there is no data available on how much agency partners spend on care leavers in Glasgow as a percentage of their total spending levels. Within Drumchapel SIP’s annual reports, on the other hand, there has been some data provided on mainstream partner’s spending in the area (see Table 8.1). However, given the absence of figures relating to the likely largest local spender, Glasgow City Council, who argue that they cannot provide this information as their area boundaries differ from those of the SIP⁸, there is little value in this data. Even where information is available, it says very little as it is not clear either what the funding is spent on, or how the figures compare with other deprived and non-deprived areas in the city.

Table 8.1: Public sector funding in Drumchapel, by agency

Public sector agency	Amount (£)	% of city expenditure ⁹
Greater Glasgow Health Board	£13,937,000	2.4%
Scottish Enterprise Glasgow	£1,458,341	3%
Communities Scotland	£8,276,000	13.3%
Strathclyde Police	Not available	Not available
Glasgow City Council	Not available	Not available

Without SIPs having full information on the levels of mainstream agency spending available for their target population, it is difficult for them to encourage all partner agencies to pool their resources together within the SIP, or similarly to build a case upon which to ask

⁸ Although saying that, it is interesting to note that at the time of applying for SIP status figures were available for Glasgow City Council spending in the local area as is noted in Chapter 6 (in 1998 spending was noted as standing at approximately £22.6 million).

⁹ It is not possible to draw any conclusions from the share of the funding that is available, as the area boundaries for these agencies do not match with the SIP boundaries. Nonetheless this share of the budget does imply some recognition of the deprived nature of the area given that around 0.2% of the city’s population live in Drumchapel and the share of funding from each agencies is higher than this; in particular from Communities Scotland.

individual public sector partners to bring additional resources towards the SIPs priorities. Arguably, it would also be difficult to ask the agencies that do provide this information to pool their resources within the SIP when other key stakeholders are not in a position or are not willing to do so.

To consider the extent of leveraging and bending of resources taking place within the case study SIPs, attention now turns to information contained within the SIP annual reports. Looking firstly at the spending activities within Drumchapel SIP, data from the annual report for 2001/02 (outlined in Appendix 15) shows that £2.3 million was spent on 74 local initiatives. The 2001/02 annual report, for the first time, also outlines details of match-funding from other sources to support these initiatives. What this shows is that in 2001/02 approximately £1.38 million of funding was provided from partners and external resources to financially support 28 of these initiatives also funded by Drumchapel SIP.

The different sources of funding accessed included:

Communities Scotland	£25,000
Greater Glasgow Health Board	£69,000
Scottish Enterprise Glasgow	£91,000
Glasgow City Council	£131,000
European Structural Funds/European Regional Development Funds	£72,000
National Lottery	£115,000

The remainder of the funding comes from a wide range of other sources including New Deal (£22,000), Wise Group (£80,000) and Glasgow Healthy City Partnership (£65,000)¹⁰.

From analysis of the funding information available from Drumchapel SIPs' annual report, less than a quarter (23%) of the funding targeted towards SIP priorities comes from public sector SIP partners, while voluntary sector organisations (both at the local and national level) contribute over half (53%) of the match-funds received. The remainder of the funding comes from European Social/Structural Fund and other specialist funding sources. This suggests that there has been some success with mainstream agency partners contributing resources towards SIP priorities, although the majority of the funding provided comes through the 'levering' of specialist funding sources¹¹ towards the priorities of the SIP. To some extent, this

¹⁰ Full details of all funding to the different organisations are not available. In some cases only the total figure spent on an individual project is provided with no breakdown of each individual organisations contribution.

¹¹ Note that this includes funding from partners from the voluntary sector (e.g. the Wise Group) and from a range of external sources (e.g. European Structural Fund and New Deal funds).

development is explained through the status of the area as a SIP area which means that there are a number of specialist funding initiatives in place in the locality to address local need as well as the area having access to other specialist funding sources (such as European Structural Funds) that are targeted towards deprived areas.

Within the Big Step annual reports, there was also some information on the additional funding sources that were available. However, the information presented related to planned spending for future years rather than actual spending in the current or previous year; added to which no attempt was made from one annual report to the next to link up plans with the actual funding undertaken. As a result, there is no indication as to the extent to which the projected spending plans came to fruition. It also does not give indication as to what year the funding would be spent, nor makes any acknowledgement of the delays that can occur with planned spending. There is, therefore, limited value in these figures. Nonetheless, it is worth highlighting the locations from which match-funding was coming and the estimated amount of funding that was committed.

Appendix 16 shows that in 2001/02 just under £293 thousand (44% of fund) was spent on service developments by the Big Step. From the 2000/01 annual report, details of the planned spend, including match-funding is presented (see Table 8.2).

The planned spend for 2001/02 was approximately £1.49 million, which was to be spent on 12 initiatives. From this, over three quarters (76%) of funding representing £1.13 million was to come from SIP partners, £240 thousand was to come from SIP funding (16%) and £115 thousand (8%) from other specialist funding sources. This breakdown indicates a relatively large financial commitment on the part of SIP partners. However, given that this SIP has a larger number of mainstream agency partners participating, and focuses centrally on developing services in conjunction with partners, the funding from this source is set in a particular context. This may suggest the potential for ‘bending’ of mainstream resources towards the priorities of the SIP. However, it is difficult to draw any conclusions without knowing more about the levels of mainstream spending previously targeted towards this group, or the extent to which this trend illustrates ‘new’ spending driven by the priorities of the SIP rather than pre-planned spending that the SIP has linked in to.

Table 8.2: Planned Funding Allocations for 2001/02 by the Big Step

Sources/Theme of funding:	£ ¹²
Accommodation:	
SIP funding	120,000
Funds from other SIPs ¹³	90,000
Glasgow City Council	30,000
Greater Glasgow Health Board	5,000
Specialist funding sources	3,000
Education, Training & Employment:	
SIP funding	27,000
Other funding sources (specialist and partner agencies) ¹⁴	no details
Health & Well-being:	
SIP funding	69,000
Greater Glasgow Health Board	30,000
All SIP partners ¹⁵	1,000,000
Voluntary sector partners	2,000
Social Support:	
SIP funding	23,500
Glasgow City Council	3,000
Specialist funding	19,700
Mental Health:	
Greater Glasgow Health Board	65,000
Total	1,487,200

The information presented on resource sharing between SIPs and other funding sources for both SIPs does indicate a commitment to looking beyond the SIPs' resources to link up with other funding sources. Indeed, both SIPs have illustrated a degree of success at developing this aspect of their work. However, the difficulty within this aspect of partnership working relates to the inability to establish whether the initiative receiving joint funding with the SIP and other funding sources would have happened in the absence of the SIP (Fordham et al (1999)). From the data available from the SIPs' annual reports, there is no explicit indication

¹² The funding allocations set out here do not match those presented in Appendix 16 as the information in Table 8.2 relates to planned spending whereas that presented in Appendix 16 is actual spending.

¹³ This funding relates to jointly funded and managed initiatives on youth housing provision in Drumchapel and Easterhouse SIP areas. This activity is discussed further in Chapter 8 when looking at partnership working in the case study SIPs.

¹⁴ Within the Education/Training & Employment funding stream, no specific details were given as to the amount of money that was to be allocated from other sources, merely that there would be contributions from the Big Step, Social Work Department, New Futures Fund and elsewhere to support a city wide careers initiative for care leavers.

¹⁵ No more detailed information is available beyond one health initiative having a planned spend of £1 million of funding from SIP partners.

given to clarify this point. There is, however, a general argument to be made that the presence of the SIPs may have had the effect of raising the profile of the needs of the area/group, and through this to have encouraged greater levels of spending by other sources. However, the extent to which this led to additional funding being made from other sources that would not have been available otherwise is not clear.

Within Drumchapel SIP, their passive approach to managing their fund through third party project applications implies that the majority of resource sharing initiatives emerge from partners and others accessing the SIP fund to add resources to service plans they were instigating in the local area. This SIP, therefore, offers an additional funding source to assist with linking up local developments, but does not play an active role in leading on the development of new services. Within the Big Step, on the other hand, earlier discussions highlighted the more active role for the SIP in initiating new service developments inside the partnership rather than inviting third parties to apply for a share of the SIP budget to meet the SIP's strategic priorities. The approach taken by the Big Step suggests that the SIP are in a position to initiate at least some of the service developments directly as a result of the existence of the SIP, by using the funding to meet mutually agreed priorities for service delivery. That said, there was also evidence of the SIP supporting service developments generated elsewhere, which would suggest that not all of the match-funding initiatives undertaken related to the SIP encouraging the bending and leveraging of external funding sources to their own strategic priorities.

This discussion of the joint funding between SIPs and others has attempted to highlight the extent to which there is evidence of pooling, leveraging and bending towards the SIPs priorities. It has shown that it is difficult overall to draw any significant conclusions as a result of the absence of key information on levels of spending by mainstream agencies and the limited usefulness of the data given relating to resource sharing that has been undertaken. This discussion does, however, highlight important challenges in terms of sharing resources within a partnership setting as a result of questions around:

- Who initiated the service development that requires funding?
- Who is responsible for taking forward the service development?
- Who 'owns' the service development that is implemented?

Fundamentally, these questions highlight general difficulties within partnership arrangements of recognising where ownership of developments lies, but with this comes similar difficulties over who then should be taking on funding and ownership of initiatives planned within a

partnership context (see Chapter 9 for more on this point). This does not invalidate what partnership working is aiming to achieve; it merely highlights the complexities of this setting for recognising where new initiatives have originated and whether these would have happened in the absence of the SIP.

The vagueness of the policy rhetoric on linking up funding sources further adds difficulties through a lack of clarity on how SIPs are to encourage partners to do this within the SIP context and what the implications for individual agencies are of doing so. Within that context, it is clear that the leveraging agenda, through focusing on linking up with other specialist funding sources, is likely to be the most straightforward way to approach the priority of encouraging match-funding. In the absence of any pooling of resources from partner agencies, in resource terms at least, the work of the SIPs is still an 'add on' activity to the work of mainstream agencies, given that partners continue to make their main programme funding decisions outside these settings. That bending of resources towards the SIPs is occurring could provide a challenge to this 'add on' nature of SIP work by suggesting that SIPs are successfully influencing the mainstream spending of partners. However, the absence of evidence of the extent to which SIP funding is being used to do anything more than fill gaps in pre-planned spending plans of partners, makes assessment of the influencing role of SIPs difficult. That said, it has been argued that at least some of the joint spending in the Big Step is generated by activities started in the SIP.

Networking

As was noted in Chapter 3 the third significant aspect of the strategic working approach taken forward by SIPs relates to the importance of networking with other specialist and mainstream policy and practice developments external to the SIPs. Looking firstly at practice within Drumchapel SIP, there is an awareness of the importance of this aspect of their work:

Another element [of my work] is liaising at the city level, working together on city wide developments that impact on [the area]... Locally it is also about keeping track of other networks... So there are all of these different networking roles which we need to do as well. (Drumchapel SIP officer)

It is clear that networking involves a range of different activities for this particular area-based SIP, including linking into and working on city level activities as well as staying informed about local developments. However, this networking function is not reported in their Annual Reports to the Scottish Executive. Either this absence suggests a lack of awareness of the importance of this element of their work, or it does not take up a significant amount of the SIP's time. In fact, it seems that, given that staff rather than partners performed the networking role, there is a lack of awareness of the importance of this activity to their work

programme. That staff spend significant amounts of time engaging with individual partners, attending local and city-wide meetings and sharing information with others indicates the centrality of this part of the SIP's work, regardless that it is not officially reported. The lack of this reporting means there is no record of the networks that are in place. However, as one staff member reported:

I don't necessarily go to all of the meetings, but I need to be aware of what is going on in them so it is keeping track of that... For example, the Area Housing Partnership, which I am 'in attendance' at, or Locality Panel which I need to know about, New Community School steering group, which I am a member of, Health Living Centre steering group, which I am a member of, Community Safety Forum... which I was heavily involved in setting up. Digital Drumchapel steering group, which I have been involved in... (Drumchapel SIP officer)

Similarly, staff within the Big Step are also linking into and working on city-wide activities, while also staying informed about the work programmes of partners:

[SIP] staff are actively involved in a number of key planning and implementation groups in the city and beyond, enabling SIP priorities and objectives to be actively developed in collaboration with key players. Equally importantly, the [SIP] team is able, in this way, to maintain currency and stay abreast of important developments within Partner organisations and within their discrete spheres of influence. (Big Step Annual Report 2000)

Within the Big Step's annual report for 2001/2002, information was given on the number of 'inter-agency' initiatives the SIP was involved with¹⁶. Of those external to the SIP's own programme of work, the staff were involved in policy and practice developments occurring at the Glasgow level, including the Children Service Planning Groups¹⁷, development of a range of health provisions by Greater Glasgow Health Board to address the mental health and sexual health needs of young people, and policy-led developments around homelessness and housing support taken forward by the City Council.

Given that both SIPs perform this networking role, there is clearly an awareness of the importance of this aspect of their work. Arguably, the motivation for undertaking this role relates to the opportunities afforded to share funding of new developments or access external sources of funding to support the strategic aims of the Partnerships. This is a point that confirms the view taken by Lambert & Oatley (2002) that networking links to the current governance agenda where groups are encouraged to work together in order to access resources. This is not to suggest that this is a negative motivation for working together.

¹⁶ This was an extensive list of about 30 groups both those central to the work of the SIP and a range of external groups the SIP staff participate in.

¹⁷ These are run by Social Work Services to encourage joint service planning for young people at the local authority level. The SIP staff have been involved in drafting the Children's Service Plans.

Indeed, given the concern with promoting match-funding between different funding sources, it is clear that the opportunities afforded to share resources can provide both a focal point for discussions and a method of bringing people together.

While there are broad similarities between the SIPs in promoting this agenda, the extent to which this practice is given prominence within the work of the case study SIPs is worth further clarification. The lack of any formal recognition of this role within Drumchapel SIP suggests a lack of awareness of the importance of this aspect of their work. In contrast, the larger staff team within the Big Step and the absence of time spent processing applications for funding mean staff have much greater opportunities to network externally as an integral part of their work programme, and thus highlight this as a key activity that they perform. Indeed, the service development model, which focuses on influencing mainstream agencies to provide for the needs of care leavers within their main programme of work, is facilitated by this networking function:

I think we are working much more strategically by linking up with other partnerships and policy developments. Firstly, it means we can influence them and get our priorities on to their agenda... Secondly, they know what we are doing and we might then get them to support a development we want to pursue. (Big Step officer)

The question this raises is whether it is easier for thematic SIPs to network externally than it is for area-based SIPs. Certainly, the approach taken by the Big Step in having a large staff team who are not delivering services themselves, allows time for this activity. This is a time capacity that is not open to the staff at Drumchapel SIP who are both a much smaller team and have a much larger number of administrative tasks to perform, only one of which is to stay abreast of local and city developments.

In addition, it is also arguable that being a city-wide Partnership gives the Big Step a higher profile within Glasgow than Drumchapel, which is only one of several area-based SIPs working at a neighbourhood level. This, aligned to the fact that thematic SIPs are a new Scottish Executive funded initiative with a high policy profile, may also mean that their networking potential is much greater as a result of their work programme fitting directly within the current policy concern with addressing the needs of a range of vulnerable young people.

While there was little information given about it, this networking role was clearly important to the work of both SIPs and allowed them to stay informed of developments in other areas. This is in itself deemed useful in order to understand better the position of the SIPs within the policy and practice world within which they operate. However, the views expressed by SIP

partners and officers alluded to more than merely staying informed about city-wide activities. For example, within Drumchapel SIP, the contact with other partnership structures at city and local level allowed information sharing between the different bodies. In addition, they also refer to the importance of 'working together on city wide developments'. This potentially involves both raising the profile of the local area when planning new city developments, while also giving a voice to the SIP in taking forward these developments. Within the Big Step, there were similarly references to their role as being more than information sharing, through their 'active' involvement in planning and implementation forums in Glasgow. Clearly then, both SIPs are aware of the importance of networking to position their work within a wider context. Of course, whether or not the SIPs have any influence over the external networks they interact with is difficult to determine, regardless of the importance placed on this issue within the SIP, or their capacity to network widely.

Promoting Strategic Working within SIPs?

The three key factors in the SIPs working arrangements presented above highlight the approach that is being taken to achieve social inclusion as focusing on delivering services, working to bring additional resources to the target population and networking externally to share resources, share information and potentially influence the policy and practice developments occurring around the SIPs. By setting out these three inputs to the work of the SIPs, a picture has been built of the approach taken to respond to the policy agenda on strategic working. Here, this concern with strategic working is more explicitly explored in order to unpack both what the policy rhetoric is intended to convey to SIPs in their working practices and what the potential implications are for the case study SIPs in working to this agenda.

As was noted in Chapter 3, there are two elements to the concern with strategic working promoted through policy. The first point relates to achieving the strategic aims set up by the SIP at the time of applying for funding. This view of strategic working is central to the policy approach adopted around partnership working and concentrates on ensuring that SIPs have a clearly articulated set of objectives that they intend to achieve through working in partnership. The second point relates concerns with 'building capacity' within partnerships through greater co-ordination between agency partners and the encouragement of sustainability of activities undertaken in partnership (Wilks-Heeg 2000). This latter approach to strategic working is more complex and less easy to measure than achieving the SIPs strategic aims, which can be measured through analysis of outputs and outcomes from SIP activities. However, each of

these are reflected on further to explore their relevance to the work of the two case study SIPs.

Meeting Strategic Aims

It is clear that the policy agenda around SIPs is concerned with ensuring that SIPs are working to achieve their strategic aims as part of their funding contract with the Scottish Executive, within which they set out what they intended to achieve and the annual reporting cycle outlines their progress towards these aims:

They [SIPs] should all have plans for regenerating the area. In other words, they should not be individual projects. They should be saying what are the problems of the area, what are our priorities for tackling those problems and how are we as a partnership going to tackle those. (Scottish Executive senior civil servant)

The view of a strategic approach is therefore one that focuses on ensuring that SIPs are clear about what it is that they plan to do and that through their work programme they meet the objectives they set out to achieve. This, therefore, focuses on priority setting and working to an agreed set of objectives that the SIP can achieve. This view of strategic working is also shared by SIP partners:

We are trying to make sure that everything we do is working towards meeting the strategic aims of the Partnership. (Drumchapel SIP partner)

I know that the SIP have a long term vision and there are various objectives that have been set. The decisions that are made about what we want to achieve long term sets out our strategic aims. (Big Step partner)

Given these comments, it seems clear that the approach taken by both SIPs in delivering services, match-funding with others and to some extent networking externally, have all been undertaken to achieve their strategic aims, while illustrating measurable outputs for the work of the Partnerships.

The extent to which there has been any impact from this focus on achieving an agreed set of strategic aims is difficult to measure. Within Drumchapel SIP, the evidence points to a significant amount of project funding undertaken; which offers a long list of outputs in terms of funded projects to provide new services in the local area. However, at the time of this study there was no evidence relating to the extent to which these outputs had led to changes in outcomes for the target groups¹⁸. Within the Big Step, in keeping with the approach taken, there was much less of their fund being spent on service developments leading to fewer

¹⁸ Although, there were plans for a comprehensive evaluation of both Drumchapel SIP and the Big Step to commence in 2003, which is likely to consider this issue further.

service developments being undertaken. Nonetheless, as with Drumchapel SIP, there were a number of reported outputs from this spending, although again no evidence of the extent to which there had been changes in outcomes for the target population. In addition, the role played in engaging with partners through their strategic influencing role has meant a number of networking activities were reported, but given their intangible nature it is very difficult to indicate impact from these.

Building Capacity

The second form of strategic working differs in that it focuses on building capacity through working in partnership. Here the focus is less explicitly on achieving an agreed set of measurable aims and outputs/outcomes and more directly focuses on issues such as added-value, sustainability of developments and effective co-ordination of partners to better meet need. Clearly, as was noted in Chapter 3, these are central policy priorities that underpin the promotion of partnership working. However, the difficulty with these issues is their intangibility in terms of what they mean in practice and how to achieve them. To help consider this issue further, Wenban-Smith (2002) proposes that sustainability can be considered in relation to whether there is institutional capacity to work to a shared agenda, and the extent to which this is facilitated by internal factors such as shared values and external factors relating to a style of government which rewards joint working. It is, therefore, worth considering the relevance of these issues to the promotion of a strategic working agenda within the SIP framework.

Arguably, the Big Step's approach of supporting new service developments within partner agencies will more likely achieve long-term sustainability through partners being encouraged to work together on service developments. The partners being personally involved in developing new services with financial support from the SIP, with the plan being that they take over funding in the future, would imply greater likelihood of sustainability than through the project funding approach. Project funding, on the other hand, has long suffered the limitation of encouraging a short-termist approach to spending with no direct partner involvement beyond administering the fund to support external specialist projects. Through this focus on funding local community groups and a lack of influence over mainstream agencies provision, there is less likelihood of a shared set of values between agency partners emerging from this approach.

With regard to the extent to which the Scottish Executive, as the administrative arm of the devolved Scottish government, supports SIPs to work jointly, it would seem that the framework of annual funding with an output driven approach would work counter to the

objectives of promoting sustainability and improving capacity within partner agencies. Given earlier acknowledgements of the time it takes to develop partner relations, encouraging an output focus would likely limit the potential of SIPs to move towards organisational capacity building. Indeed, the lack of any clear steer to encourage agencies to change their practices would suggest that this is not the explicit aim of this policy agenda.

To use the Big Step as illustration, their approach has been much slower to implement¹⁹ and has much fewer service developments to show tangible outputs. While this approach is closer to the strategic working approach that encourages sustainability and agency capacity building, it is not traditionally the type of approach that is seen within urban policy programmes. Whether this approach would have received funding, if it had been outlined to the Scottish Executive at the time of applying for money, is unclear. Compounding this are difficulties with measuring impact from this approach in terms of how much influence the SIP have had and how much their activities will actually be sustained by mainstream agencies over time. It would seem then that the rhetoric of sustainability and capacity building runs counter to the need to see measurable outputs and outcomes emerging over a relatively short time period.

From this, it can be argued that capacity building as a goal of SIPs contradicts the expectations underpinning the approach driven by the Scottish Executive; which is much more driven by a short-term, output focus. Building SIP capacity is likely to take time and commitment by partners. It also needs to be facilitated by a policy framework that recognises that strategy development is not something that in practice can occur in advance of implementation, not least because there are likely to be emergent issues that can only be identified once SIPs have gone through a number of stages in their planning and evolution. While the linear approach to the policy process (see Hogwood & Gunn 1984) may be useful in encouraging SIPs to plan their activities, there does seem to be a need for some flexibility in order to allow emergent themes and new developments to shape and change the approach taken by the SIPs if this would allow greater potential for sustainability. The change in approach taken by the Big Step is evidence of the potential for this to occur, albeit that there is no clear information on whether this change would be accepted within area-based SIPs or whether it can allow effective involvement of the community.

¹⁹ This is partly related to them developing their new approach during the first year and partly related to the time involved in building work programmes with partners and external networks.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the case study SIPs have developed distinct approaches to working and that as a result while both are working to achieve their strategic aims they have gone about doing this in different ways. Arguably these differences in approach relate to contrasts between area based and thematic SIPs more generally. For example, within area-based SIPs, the presence of a local community is likely to be a strong motivator for focusing on local project funding; not least because this is a tangible way that community members can get involved in decision-making within the SIPs. The project funding approach is further reinforced by a Scottish Executive steer to encourage an output focus through annual funding and annual reporting cycles; a steer that is likely to influence the approach taken by many area-based and thematic SIPs. Drumchapel SIP having chosen to adopt this traditional approach to using their funding and working towards the achievement of the strategic aims is therefore set in this context, with local community members and a history of this approach offering a local framework for the promotion of project funding.

The Big Step having taken a different approach to their work illustrates a potential role for SIPs in working to the more strategic influencing role. Thematic SIPs are likely to be in a stronger position to take this approach, especially where there is no strong community presence to steer their work towards a project focus. Their wider spatial focus also means that thematic SIPs can feed into local authority level decision-making more easily through their high policy profile and their presence at the city/local authority level. Further, the more permissive approach taken by the Scottish Executive to thematic SIPs, given their 'experimental' nature potentially has allowed them greater freedom to explore new approaches not likely to be open to area-based SIPs, where there is a clearly policy understanding of how they will work. The approach taken by the Big Step also implies a relatively minor role being played by the community in partnership decision-making, as it is staff who network with partners, and agency partners who make decisions on where to locate a new service. The strategic influencing role, therefore, seems to come at the price of providing an effective role for the community within the decision-making structures of SIPs. As a result, whether many SIPs would opt for this approach, even if they were inclined to do so, is unclear.

Thus, the working practices of the case study SIPs illustrate a commitment to achieving their strategic aims. It is this aspect of the policy agenda on strategic working that is focused on by both SIPs, and which the Scottish Executive explicitly promotes. It is likely that most, if not all, SIPs will similarly highlight this form of strategic working as being central to their work

programme. In opting to promote the strategic influencing role, as the second approach to strategic working, there is likely to be a move away from SIPs performing a central role in supporting local community projects, and with this a less central role for community partners. It is not clear how to best reconcile this issue of providing an effective role for community members within a partnership setting that is concerned with influencing mainstream policy and practice. As a result, it is likely that, for this reason, and many others, most SIPs will focus on using the SIP funding allocation to provide additional necessary services rather than to try and get mainstream service providers to change their practices. This in itself raises questions about the potential and challenges afforded for SIPs in operating within a partnership setting, issues that are taken forward in Chapter 9.

Chapter 9: Working in Partnership

Introduction

While Chapter 8 considered the question of the extent to which the policy agenda on strategic working has been taken forward through the working practices of the case study SIPs, here attention turns to look specifically at the partnership framework within the SIPs are performing. Given that a partnership of key stakeholders is the operating principle within which the work of SIPs is taken forward, this chapter aims to answer the question of the perceived benefits and limitations of this approach to working as these have emerged within the case study SIPs. Unlike in Chapter 8 where analysis of the practice of the case study SIPs highlighted divergences in approach, here what emerges are significant commonalities between the SIPs in what they perceive the partnership setting to offer. As discussion in this chapter will show, where divergences do emerge these relate to the specific focus of the case study SIP and the dominance of particular stakeholders within that setting, rather than suggesting distinct differences in perceptions of the value of partnership working between the two types of SIP.

To reflect on these issues, the first section of the chapter highlights the key benefits identified by respondents in using a partnership approach to achieve social inclusion. The second section of the chapter then reflects both on the challenges that limit the potential of this approach as well as highlighting more fundamental criticisms of this organisational framework. As a result of this focus, what are highlighted are tensions between the perceived potential of partnership working as an organising principle for achieving social inclusion alongside a recognition of the challenges and limitations of this approach to working. Thus, what emerges is a contradiction between what could be achieved by working in partnership and the reality of this working approach, which is argued to be limited by the fact that change is expected to occur without making changes to the way that individual agencies operate. That some respondents call this approach into question is set in this context, where there is criticism of the lack of change to the operating of mainstream agencies within which better working arrangements between agencies could occur either with or without the need for formalised partnership arrangements.

Benefits of Partnership Working

Looking firstly at the range of benefits identified in taking forward a partnership approach to achieving social inclusion, what is evident is these related to the opportunities offered to work together on issues of shared importance. Within this framework, there was recognition of the value offered in potentially breaking down cultural barriers and increasing links between a wider range of stakeholders, involving a wide range of stakeholders in the change agenda, a sharing of

responsibility for delivering change, better co-ordination of activities and adding value through better use of resources. While many of these benefits are recognised as general gains from this form of working, new developments promoted through the social inclusion framework also illustrate the steer that has emerged from this policy development, in particular in relation to the widening of stakeholder involvement in the change agenda.

Bringing Agencies Together

The most fundamental and straightforward benefit of partnership working was identified through the opportunities afforded to work with others on issues of shared interest:

The SIP is about bringing people together, which I think we have made good progress with. (Big Step agency partner)

[The SIP] is very much about bringing people together, officers and the community, to try and work together on a common issue to a common end. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

There were a number of specific motivations cited for promoting this agenda on bringing relevant stakeholders together to work to a shared agenda. Specifically, there was a concern to challenge traditional ways of working through bringing partners together:

It is about making people think differently. It is about a cultural change to realise that it doesn't have to be this way... (Big Step agency partner)

Similarly, respondents within Drumchapel SIP were aware of a need to break down cultural barriers within individual agencies:

Working in partnership allows us to overcome the age-old habits of agencies working in their own little bubbles without involving anyone else. The culture of some of these agencies needs to change so that they can think about how to find solutions to problems by working with other people. (Drumchapel SIP voluntary sector partner)

This comment also highlights a concern with using partnership working as a way of finding solutions to complex problems. That stakeholders should be encouraged through partnership working to recognise how their cultural positions influence their working practices when engaging with other stakeholders has been identified elsewhere as a key factor in effective partnership approaches (Hudson & Hardy 2002). Thus, the identification by respondents of the value of breaking down cultural 'silos' suggests changing the working practices of service delivery agencies. Implicit within this agenda is a wish to encourage shared values between stakeholders within a consensus-building framework, while underplaying differences; a point that denies the potential for conflict within partnership working which is shown later to be integral to the experience of working with others.

A further motivating factor in promoting a joining up of key stakeholders through partnership working relates to the potential afforded to work with agencies not previously working together:

So far the Partnership has been successful in that it is bringing agencies together that are not usually together. (Big Step agency partner)

Being exposed to different partners [that] in the past may have seemed peripheral to our work, we now have a better understanding of how all the bits fit together. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

What is evident from this is that partnership working has moved into a new era with the introduction of the social inclusion policy focus. Indeed, as was noted in Chapter 6, the case study SIPs highlight a concern with the interlinking of social, political and economic aspects of exclusion (Percy-Smith 2000). Thus, that a wider range of partners are brought together through SIPs is recognised to be a response to this interplay of different policy concerns:

The potential strength of [SIPs] is that they could bring all these small pockets together, which I think was always wrong with the Urban Programme. There is now an overarching focus... that seems to be about social inclusion. (Big Step agency partner)

Further, while many of the agencies involved in the case study SIPs were working in partnership with some stakeholders prior to the introduction of SIPs, the partnership setting offered through SIPs mean partners being exposed to a wider range of stakeholders than previously:

The SIP has meant I am sitting round the table with agencies I would not have previously thought to work in partnership with. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

This suggests that respondents were aware of the widened partnership agenda promoted through SIPs as this compared with their previous experience of partnership working. In particular, there was acknowledgement that the reason for this widened stakeholder involvement through SIPs was related to the concern to promote a 'joined up' approach to achieve social inclusion:

The SIP are trying to bring home that everything is inter-related and it all feeds into each other... I think everyone is trying to see the linkages between things. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

This recognition of the linkages between different problems has been a common theme in promoting partnership approaches within regeneration initiatives since their introduction in Scotland in the late 1980s (Scottish Office 1993). While this approach has historically been used to tackle problems within deprived neighbourhoods, with the introduction of thematic SIPs through this funding round, this same concern with identifying linkages has been extended to tackle the problems relating to excluded groups:

... previously everyone was singing independently and there was not a unified voice in terms of pulling all of these services together and looking at provision across the board... There was never one body that led the way. The SIP is an opportunity to pull all of that together... (Big Step agency partner)

Thus, it is clear that respondents recognise the role of SIPs in bringing a wide range of relevant stakeholders together to tackle social exclusion within deprived neighbourhoods and that facing excluded groups. In so doing, what emerges is a concern to encourage recognition of the linkages between problems and to bring a wider range of partners together under the banner of achieving social inclusion. A number of relevant issues for partnership working emerge from this joint working agenda, each of which are considered further below.

Widening Responsibility

That wider stakeholder involvement would lead to a sharing of responsibility for delivering effective change for the target population was cited by several respondents as central to the motivations for working in partnership. In relation to the work of the Big Step in particular, it was noted that previously responsibility for care leavers has been held solely by the Social Work Department. With the introduction of the Children (Scotland) Act 1995, responsibility for young people in care was to be widened to ensure that all local authority departments were aware of their 'corporate parenting' role. This widening of responsibility for care leavers was identified by respondents within the Big Step as being further reinforced by the development of the Big Step, as a multi-agency partnership:

In the past young people in care have been seen as belonging to the Social Work Department. Now, and this is partly a result of the Children Act as well, gradually they are being seen as the responsibility of every local authority agency and [voluntary sector agencies] also have an interest. (Big Step voluntary sector partner)

In the context of the work taken forward by the Big Step, this widened responsibility for meeting the needs of care leavers in part relates to the specific work programme pursued by this SIP. As was shown in Chapter 6, the Big Step is focusing on the broad themes of health, accommodation and education/employment. This suggests that a wider range of stakeholders than the Social Work Department need to be involved in the delivery of change under these themes. Several respondents acknowledged the potential benefits of a partnership approach to address this widened stakeholder involvement:

It would be easy to work alone but it isn't as effective. If we are going to promote the corporate parenting role I am in total agreement with [partnership working], even though it is the most difficult way to go. (Big Step agency partner)

In Drumchapel, there is not the same historical issue of one agency having responsibility for ensuring that local needs are met, as is the case with care leavers. Nonetheless, this issue of

partnership working widening responsibility for meeting local need was recognised by respondents within Drumchapel SIP as an important motivation for taking this approach:

By encouraging partners to work together we are partly trying to draw attention to the fact that a wide range of agencies have responsibility for improving services in the area, we are also trying to say that by working together we can more effectively get things done... (Drumchapel SIP officer)

The distinction between the two SIPs lies with the Big Step's responsibility agenda involving a widening of stakeholder involvement from focusing solely on the Social Work Department to encouraging other corporate stakeholders to take on responsibility for meeting the needs of this group. Within Drumchapel SIP, on the other hand, there is no new legislative imperative encouraging a widening of responsibility for addressing the needs of local people. Rather, as the above quote shows, there is awareness that a wide range of stakeholders already hold responsibility for meeting local need. Thus, by working in partnership, the stakeholders with responsibility for delivering local services are encouraged to work together to improve the effectiveness of provision.

This discussion of widening responsibility highlights that improving local services is not viewed as the domain of a single agency, but rather focuses on encouraging a shared working agenda. As was noted earlier, this approach is not new with SIPs; previous area-based regeneration initiatives using a partnership approach have similarly concerned themselves with sharing responsibility for change amongst a wide range of stakeholders at the neighbourhood level (Geddes 1997). However, with the introduction of thematic SIPs, this widened responsibility agenda is promoted in order to meet the needs of excluded groups as well as deprived neighbourhoods.

One specific aspect of the widening responsibility agenda relates to the role played by the community in partnership settings. Community involvement has been a central aspect of partnership working since the introduction of New Life Partnerships in the late 1980s (Scottish Office 1993). With the introduction of area-based and thematic SIPs, the policy commitment to community involvement has rolled out to focus on both communities of interest and communities of place. Thus, there is a specific concern within the framework of partnership working to ensure that community members are feeding into this decision-making setting. Within Drumchapel SIP in particular, there was recognition of the importance of ensuring that community members were involved in local decision-making:

One of the key benefits of partnership working at the local level is the opportunity it offers to involve local people in decisions that affect their lives. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

Within this context, it was argued that the perspectives of local people were particularly valuable to contributing to the work undertaken by the SIP:

It is important that local people are represented where decisions are made within the partnership not just because it affects them, but they also add a different perspective. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

The role performed by community members is steered by the policy agenda on community capacity-building through which community members are encouraged to participate in local partnerships in order to ensure sustainability of developments (Scottish Executive 2000). This is a view that is highlighted by one senior civil servant as underpinning the promotion of community involvement within area-based SIPs:

It would be our view that, if you are talking about sustainability and about healthy communities, then [local] people need to be involved in designing and managing these communities and not just to be dependent on the decisions of others... We would see this as leading to longer-term sustainability through involving the community in the change agenda. (senior civil servant, Scottish Executive)

By implication, the expectation is that, at the neighbourhood level at least, community involvement in partnership working is intended to facilitate local people's role in taking responsibility for maintaining and sustaining the changes implemented by the SIPs. Indeed, discussions in Chapter 10 on the involvement of young people within the case study SIPs similarly illustrate that this agenda on sustainability accounts for one of the motivations for involving young people in Drumchapel SIP. However, with regard to the Big Step, there is less evidence of a concern with sustainability. This is likely to relate to the fact that promoting partnership working around thematic issues rather than around neighbourhoods has a different impact both on the involvement of the community and in the way that change is achieved:

It is easier to see impact in a community of place because you can go and see that it is better and you can say that there are so many fewer unemployed. Sometimes on the thematic [SIPs] it is quite difficult to do that. Some of the success might mean moving people on beyond your reach. If they are young people having difficulties, once they go into training they might do well and you don't know about it because they don't come into contact any more. (senior civil servant, Scottish Executive)

While it is debatable whether moving into training means moving out of exclusion, the central point with regard to understanding the perspectives on partnership working relates to the differences between thematic and area-based SIPs in promoting community involvement in order to encourage local people to take responsibility for maintaining change. From this what emerges is a fundamental difference in the framework of partnership working around thematic issues, where there is an awareness that the communities of interest that are the current subject of policy interest (specifically young people) are an ever-changing group.

Specifically, as noted earlier in relation to the Big Step, responsibility for implementing and maintaining change lies with service delivery agencies rather than with young people, a point

discussed further in Chapter 10. In contrast, the implication within area-based SIPs is that, while the policy is concerned to improve the local area, local people are a resource that can be called upon to maintain change and improve the quality of the neighbourhood over time. Within area-based SIPs then, there is an assumption that the community are more constant than within a thematic context.

Co-ordinating Activities

Allied to concerns with bringing partners together and widening responsibility through partnership working, there is awareness that partnership offers the opportunity for improving co-ordination:

There are a whole range of things out there that we should be trying to co-ordinate effectively together... all of these [developments] impact on each other in some way. I think if we are being effective we need to look at all of these things together and work together as partners. (Big Step officer)

I think the SIP has a role to play in co-ordinating things locally. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

While this suggests a general commitment to the principle of co-ordination, there is a lack of clarity on whether the intention is to co-ordinate the activities of partners (thus promoting internal co-ordination within SIPs) or whether the intention is to encourage co-ordination between SIPs and the activities of other partnerships or organisational settings (thus promoting external co-ordination).

Discussions in Chapter 8 on the working practices of the case study SIPs highlighted that the main form of internal co-ordination related to the bending of partners resources towards the priorities of the SIPs. Thus, the emphasis is on what Hastings (1996) refers to as 'resource synergy' where partnership offers a forum through which to co-ordinate different resources to best meet need. As was noted in that discussion, within the case study SIPs there is no evidence of co-ordination in terms of pooling of mainstream partners budgets. However, the bending of partners' resources towards the priorities of the SIPs suggests the potential for some degree of resource co-ordination through linking the spending of partners into the work of the SIPs.

The other main form of internal co-ordination between partners relates to co-ordination of the activities of partners. While there is no evidence of a formal co-ordination of partners' activities through the partnership forum offered by the SIPs, there is a less formal co-ordination that occurs between individual partners that both predates and works alongside their involvement in the SIPs:

In Drumchapel, there is really good joint working between the Council and Scottish Homes. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

... much of my job involves joint planning through the Children's Service Plan. (Big Step agency partner)

Evidence of external co-ordination as facilitated through the partnership forum offered by the SIPs is less easy to establish. For example, Chapter 8 illustrated the role performed by the SIPs in networking externally with other policy and practice developments of relevance to their work. As part of that discussion, it was noted that this networking function was intended to link SIPs into other activities to facilitate access to resources while also allowing the sharing of information and the potential for influencing the developments being taken forward. This does suggest an attempt at external co-ordination between SIPs and other organisational settings. However, whether this external co-ordination is facilitated by the existence of a partnership forum is not clear. Given that it is SIP staff that perform this function, that SIPs are partnership based is not the mechanism that allows networking with external organisations.

Similarly, respondents cite SIPs in Glasgow as taking forward one further form of external co-ordination through the joint work occurring between SIPs in the city. This is an activity that is facilitated by the role performed by the Glasgow Alliance in co-ordinating the activities of different SIPs:

That is why the partnership managers at people based and area SIPs meet together. In the last 6 months, we have set a programme where [the partnership managers from the thematic SIPs] go round the Boards of the area SIPs to see what they are talking about. That is the first time that has happened. We would hope from that that we could build on the little bits of joint work that are taking place just now..
(Glasgow Alliance officer)

As was noted in Chapter 6, the Glasgow Alliance performs a role in bringing partnership managers together to link up the work of the SIPs with the Glasgow Alliance's citywide strategy. As part of this, the above comment illustrates the expectation that, as part of this joining up, the thematic SIPs will link their work programme into the work of the area-based SIPs. In practice, a small number of joint initiatives are being taken forward by Glasgow based SIPs, two of which involve the Big Step. The first involves a pilot housing initiative with Drumchapel SIP to develop locally based supported accommodation to meet the needs of vulnerable young people in Drumchapel. The aim of the model is to prevent homelessness and respond to existing need amongst vulnerable young people to promote their inclusion through training and employment initiatives. The second initiative involves the Big Step and Easterhouse SIP¹ working together to take forward a community based initiative to address the

¹ Easterhouse SIP is another area-based SIP in Glasgow, this one a converted PPA (see Chapter 5).

housing and employment needs of young people in the area. In the early planning stages, this initiative centred on developing a foyer based service² (Big Step Annual Report 2001). As with the networking role, this co-ordination between SIPs is facilitated by actions taken by staff and, while it illustrates evidence of attempts at co-ordination of activities, it does not use the resources of partners to take forward this co-ordinating function.

In short, while there is a commitment in principle to the notion of co-ordination as a benefit of partnership working, in practice much of the co-ordinating functions that are undertaken involve either informal links between individual partners, which are not directly the result of involvement in the SIPs, or involve external co-ordination facilitated by staff rather than by the formal organisation of the partners. Thus, co-ordination occurring through partnership processes is only explicitly evident through the focus given to resource co-ordination; an issue that is further recognised in relation to the resource efficiency perceived as being offered by partnership working.

Resource Efficiency

As noted above, an issue that emerges as relating closely to the co-ordination function of SIPs is the perceived resource efficiency offered through partnership working. One aspect of this concern with resource efficiency relates to the 'added value' of partnership working:

[The SIP partners] are trying to get that added value of those agencies working together. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

The concern with promoting added value is motivated by a wish to avoid duplication of activities between partners while also encouraging better use of available resources:

If we can just make modest changes to take away duplication by getting people to work together, it could have huge benefits. (Glasgow Alliance officer)

If the funding is only short-term... I think we have to use this time as a challenge to fill the gaps, to work better. I have always believed that it doesn't take that much more money, it is just about making money work smarter and focusing it better on what people need. (Big Step agency partner)

This view that partnership working allows potential for added value highlights a specific aspect of the co-ordinating function of SIPs; focusing on the co-ordination of partners resources rather than linking up partners within and beyond the SIPs.

² 'Foyers' are a joint housing and training initiative for young people, where young people live in supported housing while attending training courses.

The second factor in promoting resource efficiency through partnership working is the view that SIPs have a role to play in adding to the functions performed by mainstream agencies. Thus, the concern of partnership working is to ensure that additional activities take place that would not have occurred in the absence of the SIP:

... one of the main things is to find out what is on the ground and to have cohesive partnerships available for those who are excluded, to look at additionality as well; not just to replace what is already there.
(Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

The suggestion made is that SIPs are able to provide something additional by fulfilling a role not performed by other partnerships and agencies. As was noted in Chapter 8 in relation to the practice of the case study SIPs, their role in promoting 'additionality' centres on either delivering new services or leveraging/bending additional resources towards the priorities of the SIP. Within either approach, the emphasis is on SIPs providing some additional activity that would not have happened otherwise, more specifically that their role would complement the work of mainstream agencies. In this way, there is a link back to a co-ordinating role by fitting the activities of SIPs into the work programme of partners.

In practice, many respondents cited the most important aspect of concern with resource efficiency as coming through their role in filling gaps in current service provision:

[SIPs] are a good way of improving local services by highlighting the gaps and discussing what needs to be done to make things better. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

Or, in the case of the Big Step, through filling gaps³ and influencing mainstream service providers:

It is about identifying gaps in services, working with other agencies to see how these gaps can best be [filled] and influencing the development of current services to do their work better. (Big Step officer)

However, other aspects of resource co-ordination that were cited in Chapter 8 as occurring within the case study SIPs were also seen as being facilitated by the partnership framework; in particular the promoting of an agenda on 'bending' resources towards the SIPs priorities:

What we are working on at the moment is bending in resources from other agencies. That has never happened before and that is really positive. (Big Step agency partner)

As noted in earlier discussions, there is an ambiguity in use and understanding of the idea of resource 'bending'. That said, within the context of this discussion on the benefits of partnership working, resource bending was seen as a potential gain through the joining up of

³ See Chapter 6 where it is noted that SIPs consider gap filling to be a central role for them to play in service delivery.

agencies allowing access to different funding sources, including the budgets of partners and specialist funding sources. In particular, the partnership forum was seen as allowing partners to link up available resources to better meet the needs of the target population:

It seems to me that one of the things that working together does is allow us to start thinking about ways that we can achieve more [by] using the resources that we have already, without needing to go in search of [other funding opportunities]... When you think about the amount of money that is going to all of the different partners around the table, we can surely be looking at bending these resources by working together more. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

The discussion outlined in Chapter 8 on resource pooling and bending illustrates the extent to which this form of resource co-ordination is occurring in practice within the case study SIPs. From the evidence available, it is clear that the concern with achieving additionality from the work of the SIPs, through gap filling in particular, dominates the approach taken to encourage resource efficiency. There is also evidence of a commitment to other forms of resource efficiency, in particular with regard to linking in to other funding opportunities. However, the SIPs have had more success in identifying gaps in service provision and linking up resources to fill these gaps rather than co-ordinating the resources of partner agencies.

Challenges to Partnership Working

The discussion above highlights the perceived benefits that emerge from working in partnership. However, there were also a number of challenges and criticisms levelled at this approach that potentially limit its value in practice. In particular, it is shown here that there are difficulties with managing the time commitment that comes with partnership working, both in relation to negotiating and delivering the implementation of the SIPs goals, and with regard to wider concerns with managing potential duplications emerging from the range of partnership settings that partners are being asked to participate in. In addition, there is awareness of the difficulties relating to conflicts between partners, while there is also a lack of clarity on where responsibility and accountability lie within the partnership framework. However, in addition to these difficulties, more fundamental criticisms of this approach to working are also raised which call into question the motivations of policy makers in promoting this agenda.

Time Commitment

The most commonly cited challenge acknowledged by respondents within the case study SIPs with regard to working in partnership related to the time involved in this activity. From a number of respondents there was a general frustration expressed about the slow pace of progress when working within a partnership setting. This investment of time was noted as relating to, on the one hand, the time involved in setting up and developing partnership

arrangements, while on the other hand there was also noted to be a time commitment in maintaining partner involvement in the activities of the SIPs. Within each of these aspects of the time involvement, there are distinctions that emerge between the two SIPs.

Looking firstly at the time involved in setting up structures within the SIPs, it is notable that the case study SIPs have taken different amounts of time to develop their partnership arrangements. Within Drumchapel SIP, the time involved in getting the partners together and agreeing how they would set about achieving their aims was acknowledged as occurring relatively quickly:

I think a few people externally were surprised actually that the structures here came in to being quite quickly... (Drumchapel SIP officer)

However, within the Big Step there has been a much slower developmental progress in terms of setting up the structures of the partnership and agreeing how they would take forward their programme of work. Indeed, several respondents acknowledge that it had taken a long time for the SIP to agree how best to achieve their work programme and to have all the relevant staff and partners in position to work towards that objective:

... it took a year to get the full staff team in post and it takes a while for the staff team to come together. Over the next two or three years we will be consolidating what is there, but I am feeling quite satisfied with what is there. We have set up so now we can perform. There are already good signs about where we can perform and because of the planning time to get things on the go we needed a bit of space to work out exactly what we were going to do... I think we are at the doing stage now. (Big Step officer)

Given that this comment was made when the SIP was well into its second year of activity, the fact that the Big Step was only just beginning to think about implementing a work programme indicates the amount of time taken to develop their working approach. The reason for this relates in part to the changes to the planned working approach made during the first year of funding and to the fact that this SIP had a relatively under-developed partnership framework in place when they received funding⁴. These factors suggest that the SIP has spent a long time building relationships within the partnership and agreeing how they would work to achieve their aims. Within Drumchapel SIP, on the other hand, that their developmental stage was relatively quick is explained through their structures being more formally developed at the time of applying for funding (see Chapter 6), while the project approach involved much fewer discussions between partners to agree how to best use the funding to meet identified need.

⁴ This change in approach by the Big Step is highlighted in both Chapter 6 when discussing the developing partnership structures of the case study SIPs and in Chapter 7 when looking at the strategic working approach of the two case study SIPs.

In addition to the time involved in setting up the structures of the SIPs as partnerships, there was also noted to be a time investment involved in participating in these Partnerships. In particular, the time involved in discussion and negotiating over decision-making within SIP meetings is recognised as a significant investment on the part of partners within both SIPs:

There is no disputing that it is a slow laborious process... everything needs to be discussed, agreed and then signed off... (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

[Partnership working] makes things quite complicated. It can make the decision-making process quite tortuous and slow at times. It means that we rely on a lot of good will from people. (Big Step officer)

Further, stakeholders in both SIPs commented on the overall time commitment being asked of them to contribute to the work of the SIPs, which they were often struggling to maintain:

The amount of paperwork generated is vast and I often can't give it the attention I feel it needs as I just don't have time. (Big Step agency partner)

For some meetings there is a mound of papers to read... You don't really get enough time to read it either. (Drumchapel SIP community representative)

The challenges of finding time to participate in partnership is framed in a context where some partners get support from their employer for this activity, while others are participating without any additional support. The result is that pressures on time in relation to both attending SIP meetings and preparing for them are extensive for some respondents. Without support, some partners find this a huge time commitment; this is particularly the case for community representatives:

When I first started, I struggled with the language, and the paper work and so forth. There is now support to help us with that, but I have struggled with the amount of paperwork and the time that it takes to get through it. (Drumchapel SIP community representative)

However, it is not just community representatives who struggle with the time commitment when they have other pressures on their time, as one agency respondent new to SIP working points out:

If [my line manager] was to ask me to account for my time and how [my involvement in the SIP] is impacting on our business, I would be hard pushed to tell them... It does take up an increasing amount of my time to work in partnership, but I don't think it would be a good thing if we withdrew because of it. (Big Step agency partner)

Differences in this regard related to whether members of staff had a remit to work in partnership as integral to their role or not. Seniority within organisations was also important, with senior members of staff often involved in several partnerships as a key element of their

work. In agencies like the Employment Service and Benefits Agency⁵ there is less experience of working in partnership, which made participants' line-managers less supportive of the time commitment needed to maintain this contact. Indeed, for many partners, the challenges of time involvement in partnership working related to the peripheral nature of this work in relation to their main programme of work. Thus, partnership working in practice is both not recognised as relevant within some agencies and is not well co-ordinated with the activities of individual agencies.

Conflict

While the time investment of partnership working was recognised in a range of different ways as creating difficulties for SIP partners and staff, a further issue of concern emerges from the more or less explicit negotiations and conflict that emerged between partners:

A great deal of my time is spent working in partnership. As part of that I spent a lot of time negotiating with people and dealing with conflicts that come from that negotiation. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

This comment was made in relation to the general experience of working in partnership, rather than to the specific experience of working within Drumchapel SIP. Indeed, the view from within Drumchapel SIP was that the first year of the SIP's activities had progressed well. This was explained through the SIP having gone through a 'honeymoon period' within which conflict had not yet emerged:

[During the first year] people were anticipating a lot more difficulties. I wasn't. Actually, I was saying that is not what will happen, we will get a good first year, and I was right. The trouble starts after that... (Drumchapel SIP officer)

That said, while this initial period had progressed well, during the second year of the SIP's life more explicit conflict did start to emerge:

There was a honeymoon period. Inevitably having shed-loads of money to give out helps. Then people start getting disappointed when they aren't getting any of that money because of the criteria or they are assessed as not being capable of delivering that service. So then you start getting disaffected people, understandably. And they coalesce and start saying that they want to have a say in how the Partnership is run as well, as they should. And the community representation changes and some of the newer ones are not as experienced and are on a learning curve. They [also] may well have some difficulties with the council or with one of the other partners...

Q: And that is something that is going on within the Partnership just now?

⁵ Now amalgamated as JobCentre Plus.

That's right. Organisations and projects get set up or they expand their activities or new organisations like the Community Forum come into being and there is an inevitable period of finding their feet, spreading their wings, treading on people's toes and making mistakes. (Drumchapel SIP officer)

Within Drumchapel SIP, conflict is perceived as having emerged as the community have developed their role within the Partnership, both formally via the Community Forum⁶ providing them with a vehicle for using their voice collectively⁷, and through their developing experience of participating in the SIP. As one community representative notes, one particular example where conflict has emerged within Drumchapel SIP related to the activities of Culture & Leisure Services within the City Council⁸. It was pointed out that Culture & Leisure had recently introduced charges for the use of community centres and that this was a problem for local community groups to manage, as they had no resource capacity through which to take on this charge:

Since the council put charges on all the community halls, all the youth groups (not just the youth groups in fact) all of a sudden have to start paying something to cover the rent. If they pay the rent they can't do some of the things that they do, so they start charging people to come along. If you've got three or four means that you've got to give them all a pound two or three times a week, you can't afford it. I mean it's ridiculous that it's a designated SIPs area, that's supposed to be part of poverty and then you start to charge people to go and do these things. It's crazy. (Drumchapel SIP community representative)

Another community representative on this same point, adds:

My bone of contention is that this has happened since it became a SIP area. There was nothing saying this is a SIP area so it is exempt. The council is a major player in SIPs and this is only starting to come out now... The problem I have is that SIP money is supposed to be for new and innovative ideas so a group can't go to the SIP and say they need money for the let charges by the council. [In fact] I think that the SIP should tell the council that we are a Partnership area and to suspend the let charges (Drumchapel SIP community representative)

In addition to the tension caused by the council department acting in a way perceived by the community representatives as unacceptable, the SIP not taking an active role in negotiating with the council as a SIP partner to change their policy highlights that the SIP were not using their strategic position in the local area to influence individual partners. This corresponds with the

⁶ See Chapter 6 for information on the SIP structures set up during the first year, including the role played by the Community Forum.

⁷ Although it is shown in Chapter 9 that the Community Support Unit, who are the officers that support the 15 community representatives who make up the Community Forum are not advocates on behalf of the community. Nonetheless, the Community Forum offers a vehicle for community representatives to unite on issues of shared concern, with Community Support Unit providing advice and guidance to develop community capacity locally.

⁸ As the partnership structures outlined in Chapter 6 show, Culture and Leisure Services are not represented on Drumchapel SIP's Board, but they are present at SIP Implementation Groups.

role performed by this SIP discussed in Chapter 8 as focusing on providing an 'add on' service provision at the local level.

Within the Big Step, conflict has emerged in a different way. Here there was not the same pattern of a period of settling in and then conflict emerging between partners. Rather, problems emerged relatively early in the life of the Big Step, specifically between the Social Work Department and the SIP. Underpinning this early conflict was the fact that, while there was senior management support within the Social Work Department for the principles of the SIP's work, operational level staff were having difficulties with the emerging practice of the SIP. In particular, there was recognised to be a lack of coherence in the approach taken by the Big Step in taking forward their work programme:

I find the Big Step quite inconsistent in what they're doing. Over the years I really struggle with what they're trying to get because one minute they'll be wanting something, then their minds changed. (Big Step agency partner)

The SIP has a fairly strong bias towards the young homeless because of where the staff have come from. The difficulty that they have is in understanding that care leavers are different from the young homeless. (Big Step agency partner)

These views were representative of concerns about the slow pace of development, again stressing the time commitment that was being made by particular partners, the changes in approach that had emerged during the first year of the SIP's activities and their high profile involvement in policy initiatives to tackle youth homelessness. However, the concerns from within the Social Work Department also related to the wider issue of the chosen working approach taken by this SIP in moving away from service delivery towards a more strategic influencing role:

I think the good thing about the care leavers SIP, or the bad thing, is that it is huge. It's a huge amount of staff who are not operational, who are strategic, who seem to sit and think about issues for care leavers... I think some of it is a talking shop. Initially I went regularly to all the working groups. I think that they have created more work for my staff than anything I know. That is okay if there was something coming back for young people, but there actually hasn't been much. (Big Step agency partner)

This comment draws out some of the difficulties of the strategic influencing approach, in that there is little evidence of new services emerging in the short term for young people through this approach. However, as was noted in Chapter 8, the intention of this programme is less explicitly about developing extensive new services and more about shifting the working practices of the agency partners to better take account of care leavers when developing services. Thus, the aim is that in the longer-term better services would exist within mainstream provision to meet the needs of care leavers in the city. The particular tension for the Social Work Department about this approach is that they have historically held responsibility for providing

services to this group of young people. With the development of the SIP bringing with it additional resources, the SIP is in a position to perform tasks that the Social Work Department do not have the resources to undertake. This is a fundamental point of contention:

One of the difficulties is the tension between the Leaving Care staff and the Big Step staff because the Leaving Care staff see the Big Step as being well resourced to do all the things they have always wanted to do including the development of strategies; whereas what [Leaving Care staff] are doing is head down, covering operational issues. (Big Step agency partner)

Implicit within this conflict is a sense of disappointment from operational staff within the Social Work Department at not gaining additional services and resources from their involvement in the SIP, while at the same time being asked to take on extensive additional tasks in order to participate in partnership activities. Indeed, this time commitment on the part of Social Work staff through their links with the Big Step and other partnership arrangements is widely recognised:

What I am aware of is that for the Leaving Care staff the number of meetings where they are negotiating, having to sit in and discuss things, has burgeoned. They are exhausted by it because back at the ranch they are dealing with Jeanie and Johnny and the individual issues. But we can't afford not to be in partnership with other agencies... Hopefully after five years investment it will be different because I think that Social Work has been left to pick up the tab far too much in the past. (Big Step agency partner)

This tension between taking forward a partnership approach and delivering on individual service responsibilities within agencies highlights one of the key challenges of partnership working. Within the Social Work Department in particular, a tension between the wish to take forward a 'corporate parenting' approach through working in partnership, while at the same time struggling with sharing responsibility for this group with other service providers is recognised as underlying the difficulties that have emerged in this SIP:

... in our instance there are what I would interpret as territorial issues about who is doing what. To rephrase that I mean territorialism in that people don't think they are getting what they see as recognition for the work that they are doing... That is because historically [Social Work] are the only people occupying the space for people leaving care. There is, I think, a funny contradiction in that Social Work will complain bitterly about being left holding the baby and being the only agency that really is carrying this responsibility and then as soon as other agencies appear to be willing (and I don't mean ourselves as other agencies) as soon as other players seem to want to play a part in that, unless it is absolutely on their terms they don't think it is good enough because it is not the right standard or the right approach or whatever. They would deny that entirely. I don't think they would buy in to that, but from where I am sitting there is a lot of that going on. (Big Step officer)

The views presented by respondents within both Drumchapel SIP and the Big Step⁹ around the causes of conflict relate to different issues. However, the underlying causes of conflict are principally the same. For example, in both SIPs conflict emerges through unfulfilled expectations of particular partners on what the role of the SIP should be. Thus, there is a lack of any explicit awareness of the need to acknowledge the potential effects of SIP activity on the work of mainstream agencies (in the case of the Big Step) or the effects of activities undertaken by mainstream agencies on the work of SIPs (in the case of Drumchapel SIP).

*Responsibility/Accountability*¹⁰

As the above discussion highlights, one of the principal causes of conflict within SIPs relates to a lack of clarity on where accountability lies between the SIPs and individual partners. This is a relationship that has different elements; with there being a lack of coherence on the extent to which individual partners are accountable to the SIPs and the extent to which the SIPs are accountable to individual partners. Indeed, as has been noted above, there is an explicit conflict element to partnership working relating directly to differing expectations of individual partners and the overarching focus taken by the case study SIPs that begins to suggest difficulties with clarifying where responsibilities are held within a partnership setting. This discussion around questions of accountability within the context of SIPs takes the above debate further to specifically unpack the extent to which partnership working leads to changes in accountability between individual partner and the SIPs themselves as partnership bodies.

Within Drumchapel SIP, the main area of concern with regard to accountability related to the acknowledged lack of role performed by the SIP in holding Culture & Leisure Services to account for their actions. Beyond that, there were no explicit concerns raised about the role performed by the SIP in relation to their accountability over individual partners. Within the Big Step, the earlier debate on the relationship between the SIP and the Social Work Department in developing partnership working raised wider issues around a shifting of responsibility for care leavers from the Social Work Department to other SIP partners. From this, specific issues relating to shifting boundaries of accountability between partners emerge that require further attention.

⁹ The conflict between Leaving Care Services and the Big Step came to a head during my fieldwork, but was abating by the time I exited the field. It is thus not clear how dominant any conflict has continued to be in interactions between the Social Work Department and the Big Step once roles were more firmly established.

¹⁰ There are different definitions of 'responsibility', which are well documented in Bovens (1998). For the purposes of this debate, however, responsibility refers to the specific idea of accountability as 'being responsible' or having liability (Bovens 1998; 25).

As noted above, the principal area of conflict within the Big Step related to Social Work officers identifying the SIP as asking them to take on extensive extra work, while also having their own internal (and separate) programme of work to manage. However, other 'corporate parents', such as those in the Education Department, were yet to change their practices to take more responsibility for meeting the needs of this group of young people:

One thing we don't have is lots of money to spend on [young people in care]. The debate around this has not been enjoyed. There has been no debate worthy of the name about how we should address the issues associated with people in care in conjunction with the findings of the care leavers Partnership as to the remedial necessities. We could be proactive about it, but within the great welter of things you have to be about, chances are we address it much more readily if we are really under pressure on it. We are under pressure on so many things that by definition you prioritise a bit. You only put so much effort into so many things. Maybe we should, I don't know. (Big Step agency partner)

It is not clear from this comment whether this partner is not being asked specifically to do more for care leavers or whether they do not feel that the right questions are being asked of them. Either way, the suggestion is that they were not changing their practice through not being under enough pressure to do so. The difficulty that emerges from this is that there is a lack of any real authority on the part of the SIP to hold individual partners to account if they do not change their practices in line with the aims of the Partnerships. Alongside this, the long history of the Social Work Department holding sole responsibility for care leavers means that this agency remain central to the activities undertaken by the Big Step:

We have a lot of involvement from Social Work, who are the main agency. There is Social Work and Leaving Care representation at all the Working Groups... (Big Step officer)

This continued central focus on the Social Work Department goes some way to reinforce the traditional view of this service provider as the principal agency responsible for care leavers, while the rhetoric of 'corporate parenting' is slow to develop in practice. Indeed, Social Work officers recognise this divergence between their responsibilities and the work undertaken by the SIP:

The Big Step may be doing all this work to get care leavers higher up the policy agenda, but we are still doing the work... and it is us that are accountable at the end of the day if these kids don't get [the services that they need]. (Big Step agency partner)

Clearly then within both SIPs, there remain relatively unchanging roles performed by agency partners in taking responsibility for change. Thus, while earlier discussions highlighted that respondents saw a role for SIPs is profiling the responsibility of particular partners for taking forward change, difficulties emerge through the SIP not being in a position to hold individual partners to account for their activities. This is partly a result of the policy context within which SIPs work as it is unclear the extent to which SIPs are in a position to hold individual partners

to account for their activities. This raises a fundamental point about partnership working in practice, where there is an expectation that there will be informal co-operation between partners that will lead to a change in the practice of individual partners to fit within wider partnership priorities. However, given the lack of any explicit policy incentive to encourage agencies to change their practices (Hastings 1996) there is inevitably a limit to the extent to which change within agencies is occurring. The lack of any explicit role for the SIPs in holding individual partners to account thus relies in practice on individual partners opting to respond to the concerns of the partnership approach (as the Social Work Department are doing within the Big Step) or challenging the practices that emerge (as the community representatives are doing within Drumchapel SIP).

This concern with accountability is not only about the role performed by individual partners, but also relates to the role of these Partnerships within the wider context of the management of the SIPs by the Glasgow Alliance. As was noted in Chapter 6, the Alliance has responsibility for managing SIPs in the city and co-ordinating SIPs as part of the citywide strategy for regenerating the city. However, local councillors expressed concerns about the impact on local representative democracy of the Alliance performing this role in managing SIPs:

Some Partnership Managers are finding it difficult to liase with both the Alliance and the SIP Boards, who are sometimes pulling in two directions... It is not always clear who it is that [the Partnership Managers] are answerable to. Being employed by the Glasgow Alliance means being accountable to them, but they are also technically accountable to the Board that they work to. This is problematic as one [the SIP Boards¹¹] are elected and the other [the Alliance] are a quango¹²... [The Alliance] can override the Board by going to the Partnership Managers for information without the Board's approval. I don't think that the Partnership Managers should be employed by the Alliance for that reason; [the Alliance] then can't have as much influence over the SIPs. (Glasgow local councillor)

The conflicting position of Partnership Managers as employees of the Alliance and as support staff for the SIP Boards raises a fundamental question around where accountability lies between the SIP Board and the Glasgow Alliance. While Partnership Managers are clearly accountable to the SIP Boards, their employment by the Alliance meant local councillors perceived a conflict of interest for SIP staff; a concern that was principally related to the Chairs of both SIPs being

¹¹ Most local SIP Boards including Drumchapel SIP elected their representatives, but this study has shown (see Chapter 10) that there was no indication of any election process within the Big Step. This may suggest that in some thematic SIPs there is a less formally constructed partnership arrangement in place.

¹² As was shown in Chapter 6, the Glasgow Alliance has a Board consisting of partners from key agencies in Glasgow. However, it is the Alliance support staff who undertake the management of SIPs. In fact, the criticisms levelled at the Alliance are directed at their support staff rather than the Alliance Board.

local councillors who promoted local representative democracy as the route through which decision-making should occur¹³.

This development of the Alliance as managers of SIPs serves to confirm a point made in Chapter 6; that the purpose of the Alliance as a citywide partnership has been to link local SIPs more directly with central government, while at the same time reducing the role played by local government in managing local regeneration initiatives. Within that context, the Alliance having decision-making authority over the work of the SIP officers potentially means that they can steer the direction of the SIPs' work and activities. Thus, if a conflict of interest were to emerge between the Alliance and the SIP Board, the SIP officers would be in a difficult position in terms of which group they were ultimately accountable to. Indeed, as the discussion that follows shows, the development of the Alliance as a citywide partnership is part of a wider governance approach that promotes partnership working as the route through which to achieve change; an approach that is open to fundamental criticisms.

A New Governance Framework

As the above discussion on questions of accountability between SIPs and the Alliance begins to illustrate, the SIP agenda has developed within a specific governance context. Historically, the development of partnership working processes was one route through which to promote new forms of governance promoting pluralistic decision-making, while simultaneously moving away from local authority control over decision-making (Geddes & Le Gales 2001). This final section, therefore, unpacks the perceptions of respondents on the general policy commitment to partnership working within the current governance context; specifically with regard to the criticisms levelled at this approach as a vehicle for managing and improving public services.

It is worth noting at this point that there are different forms of partnership arrangement. Firstly, there are those partnership formations that focus on reconfiguring mainstream service delivery functions. The development of Children's Service Planning offers one example of this type of partnership arrangement; where key stakeholders involved in the delivery of statutory services to children and young people at the local authority level work together to agree a common programme of work that will be taken forward by individual agency partners. Secondly, there are a range of specialist partnership initiatives that have emerged with the aid of

¹³ As was noted in Chapter 6, not all SIPs have councillors as the Chairs of their Boards.

additional government funding; examples of this type of arrangement are SIPs, Drug Action Teams¹⁴ and SureStart Scotland¹⁵.

Given that so many of the partnerships that have been developed in recent years fall into the latter category, respondents highlighted concerns about the efficiency of this form of working. Earlier discussions of the potential for partnership working to add value through using available resources effectively and promoting 'additionality' are called into question when considering the practices that have emerged. Indeed, there was specific concern about the risk of duplication of efforts as a result of the number of partnerships that had emerged in recent years:

[Partnership working] might also come from a bad thing, which is the duplication effect. Sometimes if you look at the agency partners around a SIP Board table, they are also present at another six or seven partnerships as well. There is a sense in which they have to announce which hat they have on today.
(senior civil servant, Scottish Executive)

This highlights a perceived risk of overlap between different partnership initiatives, with stakeholders taking part in an increasing number of different partnership settings, while within this the same individuals participating in several different partnerships that have broadly similar remits:

I take part in lots of different partnerships as a result of my position within [a mainstream service agency]... A lot of what we do is have the same discussions, although they are necessary discussions.
(Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

Respondents clearly were spending increasing amounts of their working life participating in partnership activities. While the existence of more partnerships may not, in itself, lead to duplication, given the concerns with overlapping priorities between these different forums, it is unlikely that some overlap in priorities can be avoided.

The increased use of partnerships to solve a complex range of problems may be recognised to be the current approach to governance (Pierre 1998). However, the problem lies with the fact that there seems to be a lack of co-ordination between these emerging governance structures:

What makes it more difficult than it has to be is that we continue to build new structures on top of existing ones that we have only just set up, in some instances where they have been set up simultaneously... What we have is a situation made more complex through being asked to create these new partnerships when we haven't [had] the time to build the relationships that form those

¹⁴ Drugs Action Teams are multi-agency partnerships aiming to tackle drug misuse in Scotland. Money is provided to specific initiatives as well as to support the work of the DATs directly (£1million to contribute to resources from other sources)

¹⁵ SureStart Scotland is a policy initiative giving approximately £19 million a year between 1999 and 2002 to partnership initiatives targeting the needs of young children in deprived neighbourhoods in Scotland.

partnerships... Rather than everyone having to create [the linkages] themselves it would be helpful if we had a clearer idea of what is supposed to be the relationship between [for example] the Childcare Partnership and the Social Inclusion Partnerships in Glasgow... We could end up with people tripping over themselves implementing initiatives; where is the co-ordination in that? (Drumchapel SIP officer)

As was noted in Chapter 6 when discussing the speed at which SIPs were expected to move from planning to implementation of partnership activities, there are clearly concerns that not enough recognition is given to the time needed to build links both within partnership settings and between different partnerships. Within that context, there are emerging difficulties in keeping up to date with the plethora of new partnership initiatives that have emerged in recent years. In particular, there is no clear steer on how new partnership initiatives link into existing structures. This lack of co-ordination potentially heightens the risk of duplication between different structures and means that SIPs spend excessive time and effort trying to stay abreast of developments while creating ad hoc linkages with these other partnerships.

As a result of this governance context where new partnerships funded by central government are emerging all the time, one respondent raised the question of the real added value that comes from partnership working:

It is very difficult to assess the effectiveness of partnerships because most partnerships have run with additional money. But when you take in the cost of creating a partnership and ask has the partnership working added value or is it just that adding more money has secured better results, it is difficult to know. (SSIN member)

Measuring added value through partnership working is problematic as a result of difficulties with assessing the value of the inputs to partnership working and with differentiating what it is that creates impact i.e. activities of the partnership or wider changes in the economy (Harrison 2000). Within the case study SIPs, given the early stage in their lives at the time of this study, showing evidence of impact beyond outputs from the spending of the SIP budget is difficult to quantify. Indeed, it is likely to take time, and a specific set of measurement instruments, to move towards an accurate measure of the real and potential added value from working in partnership, and not merely to focus on how the money has been spent.

On a similar point, this same respondent also raises concerns about the efficiency of partnership working as an approach to decision-making:

I find it difficult to believe that the partnership way of coming to decisions is the most rational way of decision-making. Surely if you start with a fragmented array of service providers with their different lines of accountability to different people then you may have no alternative but to go down the partnership route, but it is not the best place to start from. I would be very surprised if it maximised value of public expenditure. (SSIN member)

It could be argued that partnership working has not been developed in a strategic way to effectively improve the working practices of agencies, with it serving more as a panacea to address a range of complex problems. However, while partnership working is unlikely to have been developed in a strategic way, it does potentially offer a practical tool for government to achieve the changes it wants without radically altering the organisation of public services, and at the same time not expanding the role played by local authorities:

Partnerships were created partly in response to the fragmentation of local government over the last 15 years. Then government got to the point of realising that lots of social problems being faced needed a co-ordinated, integrated approach and they realised that they no longer had an instrument to deliver that approach. So they had to dream up the idea of putting it together again via partnership, central government having spent the last two decades unravelling it. I find it difficult to have much patience with the complexity of the partnership process when any rational process would involve reforming the existing system of local government, which carried more political and popular credibility with wider audiences. (SSIN member)

Whether local government do indeed hold credibility with an audience beyond central government is questionable. Either way, the expansion of local government as a response to improving public services is not currently a popular political approach. Indeed, the governance agenda being promoted focuses on 'participative democracy' over 'representative democracy' as a means of increasing stakeholder involvement and reducing the autonomous power previously held by local authorities (Wilson 2000). The view of local councillors on this point is that partnership working undermines representative democracy:

It is all very well setting up all of these partnerships to agree strategies... but when it comes to services and you have these quangos who are making decisions about what services to provide without any democratic process putting them in that position, that bothers me. (local councillor)

However, the view from the Scottish Executive on this issue is clearly one that stands counter to this opinion. The argument from this quarter is that local authorities were not managing to make any impact on the problems in deprived areas, which illustrates a central reason for introducing partnership initiatives:

Why have we got SIPs in the first place? Why have we got the Urban Programme in the first place? We could say all the things that the Urban Programme did and all the SIPs should be doing should have been done through mainstream programmes. The fact is that they were not, that is why we have these things. (senior civil servant, Scottish Executive)

There are two important points implied through this statement. Firstly, the suggestion is that local authorities are not delivering change at the rate at which central government would like. Secondly, linking back to discussions in Chapter 6, in developing partnerships from the centre, central government are intervening to affect change in a way they see as effective. The introduction of the Glasgow Alliance to take over management of SIPs in Glasgow in the place

of Glasgow City Council, who previously managed urban policy programmes in the city, further confirms the shifting of governance away from local authorities towards pluralistic decision-making steered by central government, in Glasgow at least. Underpinning this is an implied lack of trust of local authorities to deliver change:

We have a lot other programmes like Rough Sleepers and homelessness programmes that we run centrally from the Executive for some of the same reasons; that mainstream programmes are not adequately dealing with the problem. (senior civil servant, Scottish Executive)

Although it is not explicitly stated that they are referring to local government when making this statement, there is a common view that local government does not provide efficiency within service delivery (Stoker 1996). This comment suggests that partnership programmes run from the centre are intended to target specific problems that do not get sufficient attention through mainstream programmes. However, the question that this raises is whether partnership working can provide a more effective tool for achieving efficiency in service delivery. In the absence of evidence of the added-value that emerges from partnership working, it is difficult to say whether there is merely a shifting of decision-making power or whether there is potential for this approach to provide a more effective delivery mechanism.

What this approach does arguably offer, however, is a 'sticking plaster' solution to the problems encountered. It does this by avoiding tackling the fundamental problems of public sector inefficiency, instead using specialist initiatives to fill gaps in mainstream provision. The issue that underlies this is whether partnership working offers a long-term route through which to change the way that mainstream service providers deliver services and thus moves towards achieving social inclusion or whether this approach merely fills the gaps not adequately addressed through mainstream activities. The conclusion that follows reflects on this question in light of the discussions held in this chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter has set out to reflect on the perceived motivations for working in partnership to achieve social inclusion. Within the case study SIPs, the benefits and challenges identified around partnership working show broad similarities in views between the SIPs. In particular, the benefits of partnership working were perceived in both SIPs as relating to the potential for greater opportunities to work with others, widening responsibility for change, improving co-ordination of activities and improving resource efficiency through working together. However, limiting the potential of these benefits, were difficulties related to the constraints of time on both the development of partnership arrangement and in the maintenance of involvement in partnership working, the conflict element of working together and the difficulties with

recognising where accountability lay within a partnership setting. Consequently, the challenges posed through partnership processes suggest that benefits such as increasing co-ordination between partners and widening responsibility for change are not being realised in practice due to challenges faced in changing the practice of agencies and establishing a common agenda that allows for partners to agree the boundaries of their involvement. Indeed, these are likely to be common views of partnership working shared both by other area based and thematic SIPs and by other forms of partnership.

Where divergences in view emerged between the case study SIPs, these tended to relate to the specific focus taken by the particular SIP. For example, the concern to encourage community involvement in order to promote a widening responsibility for the change agenda was only a priority within Drumchapel SIP. This perspective fits within traditional community capacity-building agendas that promote involvement in order to facilitate sustainability of change at the local level. However, within the Big Step the responsibility agenda was one that was to be taken forward by agency partners rather than through the community of interest. This related to the policy focus around thematic SIPs that identified excluded groups as a transient group who, over time, would change. With regard to the emergence of conflict within the SIPs, the divergences between the SIPs similarly related to the composition of the particular SIPs; with the community representatives and local councillors being most explicit in challenging partnership processes within Drumchapel SIP and the Social Work Department challenging processes within the Big Step. As elsewhere, it is likely that the views presented by those in Drumchapel SIP are more representative of the challenges facing many of the SIPs in relation to the conflict between community and agency partners. However, within the Big Step, the conflict that emerged with Social Work staff is more specific to the focus of this particular SIP as their work is clearly crossing directly with the work programme of this agency. Within other thematic SIPs, the potential for conflict will differ depending on the partners represented, the objectives of the SIP and the extent to which there is consensus on the programme of work to be taken forward by the SIP.

However, as well as acknowledging the specific potential and challenges afforded through the work of the case study SIPs, general criticisms of this approach to working were also identified by a small number of respondents. These illustrate fundamental challenges to partnership working as the guiding principle steering current policy approaches to achieving social inclusion. In particular, the notion that partnership offers the potential for resource efficiency specifically through 'added value' is called into question given that many partnerships, including SIPs, come with additional resources. As a result, it is difficult to distinguish whether

improvements in outcome (assuming that these are shown to occur and can be linked to the work of SIPs) are the result of additional money being available or are a result of partners working more effectively together.

Indeed, it is likely that beyond all the previously acknowledged benefits of partnership working, the underlying policy motivation for promoting this approach is that it offers an effective government tool for responding to problems in service delivery without directly changing the way that agencies work. That current partnership arrangements may not be effective in co-ordinating long-term change in services or that they are perceived as undermining the role traditionally played by local authorities is perhaps secondary to the real reason for promoting this approach. Rather, partnership working steered by central government policy imperatives allows a relatively quick response to problems, without the need to directly engage with flaws in mainstream service provision. Thus, the gap-filling role of partnerships becomes more explicit. However, it is this lack of direct engagement with the working practices of agencies that is potentially what causes the challenges in partnership working discussed above. Specifically, the lack of clarity on where accountability lies within partnership arrangements and the experience of conflict between partners over the role to be played by different partners is likely to be the result of a gap in co-ordination of organisational arrangements between partners. To respond to this, there is a need for a more coherent framework for working where partners know their role and what their obligations are to the other partners and to the partnership as a whole.

Having set out in this chapter the perceptions of the general principles of partnership working that frame the experiences of the case study SIPs and partnership working more generally, attention in Chapter 10 turns to look specifically at the involvement of young people within the partnership setting offered by the case study SIPs. In so doing, the discussion reflects further on the framework of partnership working as a route through which to involve this particular community of interest within partnership decision-making.

Chapter 10: Youth Involvement in the SIPs

Introduction

This final data chapter turns to the question of how the case study SIPs are promoting the involvement of young people within the decision-making structures of the SIPs. Four themes are identified as of relevance to this question. First, by outlining the forms of involvement that have been promoted in these SIPs, attention is given to the locations through which young people are feeding in to the SIPs and where their presence is not evident. Leading on from this, the chapter then explores the extent to which the SIPs are attempting to achieve representation through involving young people in their work. Third, the motivations for youth involvement are considered, both as these are identified by adults and by the young people themselves. Finally, emerging from the discussion on the motivations for youth involvement, the fourth section of the chapter looks specifically at the practice of youth involvement that has emerged within the case study SIPs in relation to how young people are contributing to the work of the SIPs.

The chapter illustrates differences in approach taken by the two case study SIPs in involving young people in the work of the SIPs. On one hand, Drumchapel SIP shows a commitment to youth involvement in order to facilitate young people's role in local decision-making settings. This brings with it explicit conflicts in young people's relations with adult agency partners. On the other hand, the Big Step focus more directly on consultative mechanisms for involvement. This is shown to result in a less contentious relationship with adults as young people are rarely exposed to adult partners in decision-making settings where conflict is likely to emerge. Young people's participation within relatively informal elements of the SIPs work focuses on offering opportunities for self-development and using their voice in a non-confrontational way. However, the question that this raises is which of these approaches offers the greatest potential for influencing change or, indeed, which offers the most long-term benefit to young people.

Mechanisms for Youth Involvement

As noted in Chapter 6, both SIPs set out a commitment to involving young people in the work of the SIPs, either through direct involvement in the work of SIP (in the case of the Big Step) or through a commitment to encouraging their involvement in local decision-making (in the case of Drumchapel SIP). The practice that has emerged during the first two year shows that a range of mechanisms have been employed to link young people into the work of the

SIPs (see Table 10.1). As fits with their intended plans for involvement, there have emerged clear divergences in forms of youth involvement taken forward within the case study SIPs. While Drumchapel SIP have chosen to promote formal involvement in the structures of the Partnership, the Big Step have taken a more varied and informal approach to involvement. That these divergences have emerged relates to the commitment made to youth involvement at the time of setting up the SIPs, and is further reinforced by differences in methods used to facilitate youth involvement in practice.

Table 10.1: Forms of youth involvement within the case study SIPs

The Big Step	Drumchapel
Membership on SIP Board (3/4 young people)	Membership on SIP Board (1 young person)
Monthly social event/youth consultation (6/8 young people)	Membership on Youth Implementation Group (YIG ¹) (between 6 and 10 young people)
Staff recruitment (2 young people)	Youth pre-meeting to YIG (approx. 15 young people)
Involvement in health research (2 young people)	Training for SIP meetings (as pre-meeting)
Youth consultation in May 2000 (20 young people)	Consultation on youth strategy in late 2000 (YIG members and others, focus groups with 40 young people)
Participation in various activities run by SIP e.g. arts event, SIP web-site design and making video on activities of SIP	

In terms of formal involvement of young people within the SIP Board meetings during the first two years, Table 10.1 shows that both SIPs maintained a membership of young people; with places having been established for them to participate from the time of developing the SIP bids in early 1999. There were on average three or four young people participating in the Big Step Board, and one young person in Drumchapel SIP’s Board.

The numbers of young people who participate in this setting between the two SIPs differ because of the level of formality of the SIP Board memberships. Within Drumchapel SIP, there only being one youth representative on the Board relates to the formal constituency of this SIP, where all members are elected², and places are allocated for specific stakeholders. Thus, as noted in Appendix 12, there are a total of five places for community members on Drumchapel’s SIP Board; three for adult community representatives, one for a young person

¹ As noted in Chapter 6, the YIG is one of Drumchapel SIP’s five thematic sub-groups working to take forward their programme of work. See Appendix 12 for information on the membership of this group.

(aged under 25) and one for a local voluntary sector representative. All community members have a substitute who can stand in at the Board in their absence. From observation of Board meetings at Drumchapel SIP, while adult community members only called upon their substitute in their absence, often both youth representatives attended together. The formal structure of the meetings meant that substitutes could only speak when the main Board member was absent, otherwise they were only able to be 'in attendance' and were not in a position to speak. In the course of this study, it was noted that the young people attending this meeting had found a way of getting both of their voices into proceedings:

... I can't speak at the Board meeting anyway because I am there 'in attendance'. Because I am A's substitute, she is the only one who can speak.

Q: Is that frustrating?

A: It is sometimes. It used to be very frustrating a while ago where I used to elbow A and say "say this"... Then we had bits of paper going between us with notes to each other. (young person, Drumchapel SIP Board)

Thus, while there was only officially one young person formally participating in the SIP Board, these young people had found a way of allowing both to participate when attending this meeting.

The presence of young people within the Big Step Board is less formally constructed. The young people who participate in this setting are those involved in the SIP through the other less formal aspects of its work e.g. the web-site design and the monthly social events (see Table 10.1). Their involvement does not involve their election to the Board, rather they are invited to participate through their involvement with other services for care leavers e.g. Social Work or Who Cares? Scotland. At the time of this study, the SIP was working towards achieving a core group of eight young people (aged up to 25 years) that could share responsibility for attending Board meetings, with on average four young people expected to attend each meeting. In practice, at the time of this study there were between four and six young people attending irregularly, with on average two or three attending each meeting. One young person in particular was a regular attendee at Board meetings as well as participating in a variety of other SIP activities. One of the tasks of the SIP's youth worker was to increase the 'pool' of young people from which this core group of eight participants could be developed.

² The election process involves an annual meeting, where nominations for membership are put forward and seconded to decide on the representatives that should be involved in the Board.

As well as Board membership, both SIPs undertook consultation exercises in their early years to gather the views of young people on aspects of the SIPs' work. The consultation exercise by Drumchapel SIP involved the SIP funding an external consultant to gather information from young people to inform the development of the youth strategy for the area. As part of this exercise, focus groups involving 40 young people were undertaken in late 2000 to gather young people's views on what local services were needed and what they felt the main issues were that required attention to improve the area (SQW 2000). Similarly, within the Big Step, their consultation exercise was undertaken early in their second year of practice (in May 2000) and involved focus groups with approximately 20 young people (both those in care and those who had left care) to assist the SIP identify what young people felt were the issues that required attention to better meet their needs. The SIP ran the focus groups, while partners (in particular the Social Work Department and Who Cares? Scotland) assisted with identifying young people to take part in the event (Big Step 2000b). The suggestion in undertaking these consultation events in both SIPs was that attempts were being made to gather the views of a larger group of young people than formal participation in the case study SIPs allows.

In relation to other aspects of the SIPs approach to youth involvement, the differences between the SIPs become more apparent. Thus, as consistent with their overall approach to youth involvement, Drumchapel SIP's activities illustrate the relatively formalised approach to youth involvement. For example, the main route to link young people to the work of the SIP was through the Youth Implementation Group (YIG). As noted in Appendix 12, the purpose of these Implementation Groups was to review applications for funding relevant to the particular focus of each Group and to make recommendations to the Board on which to fund. As part of the wider role of the SIP in linking up with other local developments, the Implementation Groups also served as a forum for sharing information on other local activities. The YIG, therefore, took part in processing applications for funding relating to projects with a youth focus³ while also bringing a range of local community, voluntary sector and statutory agencies together to share information on their work.

The YIG had a relatively large membership of young people and adult members, with on average 20-25 people present at each meeting. Approximately six young people were attending each meeting, which during 2000 and early 2001 met on average six-weekly. The Chair of the

³ Although those concerned with education also went to the Education Implementation Group, those on employment to the Economic Implementation Group and those on health to the Health Implementation Group. As a result, applications for funding were heard in different settings simultaneously.

YIG was the same young person elected to the SIP Board, and the Deputy the same person who substituted at the Board. While this overlap in roles potentially offers continuity between the different structures of the Partnership, it also suggests a limited involvement of young people in the decision-making structures of the SIP; an issue that is considered further later when looking at representation within the SIPs.

To support young people's involvement in the YIG at Drumchapel SIP a pre-meeting, attended only by young people and the Youth Inclusion Officer⁴, was offered to brief young people on the agenda for the YIG and to allow the opportunity to discuss any questions. This arena was also used to discuss youth training events to facilitate involvement in the SIP; at the time of this study for instance youth YIG members were being encouraged to participate in social events to promote team-building⁵.

This relatively formalised focus of youth involvement within Drumchapel SIP relates to the explicit commitment to promoting youth involvement as a means of linking young people into decision-making about local service developments:

It is essential that young people, and those who work with young people, inform the direction of future service provision in Drumchapel. In the next year, there is a commitment to improving the level of participation and inclusion of young people in the life of Drumchapel. (Drumchapel SIP annual report 2000; 29/30)

Within this SIP, involvement in the decision-making structures of the SIP was, therefore, intended to act as a means of promoting involvement of young people in the decision-making undertaken by local service delivery agencies:

Some people have misunderstood my role as being that I personally have to go out and engage with lots of young people... [In fact] I have to co-ordinate, encourage and facilitate the partners to fully engage with young people. (Drumchapel SIP officer)

This role for Drumchapel SIP in building relationships between service providers and young people offers one explanation for young people being centrally linked into the YIG rather than the main SIP Board as this is the forum where a range of agencies delivering services to young people locally are present.

⁴ This was a temporary post developed during the first year of the SIP. When the staff member left in late 2001, a Monitoring & Information Officer replaced the post. There was, therefore, no longer a youth worker in this SIP from this point.

⁵ Responsibility for training and support for adult community representatives was the responsibility of the SIP-funded Community Support Unit, attached to the Community Forum (see Appendix 12).

Within the Big Step the mechanisms employed to encourage youth involvement was more varied. For example, young people were involved in the recruitment of staff, which involved training, interview preparation and participation on the interview panel (Big Step 2000a). The youth worker also facilitated monthly social events with young people, intended as a forum for informal information-sharing between young people and the SIP, where they reported to young people on the work of the SIP and gathered young people's views on any developments being taken forward by the SIP. In addition, young people were also involved in an externally commissioned research project to investigate self-harm amongst young people in care. Young people were involved from the inception of this project, with a young person involved in the recruitment of the researcher and in all stages of project development. In addition, a number of other initiatives have been undertaken that have involved young people, including assistance with designing the SIP web-site, a video to promote the work of the SIP and the development of an information pack for young people leaving care. All of these activities were intended to sustain current youth involvement while also widening the participating to new young people:

Innovative and interesting methods are used to build trust and maintain relationships with a relatively small core group of young people, while every opportunity is taken to invite wider input to our work via competitions, activities, research etc. (Big Step annual report 2001)

The approach to youth involvement incorporating different methods emerged as a result of the perspective taken within the Big Step on the role of young people within the SIP:

The Partnership has the involvement of young people at its heart, and the position of young people within the Partnership is a very high priority. We need to involve young people in the process to ensure that we 'get it right' when we propose service developments. (Big Step annual report 2000a; 1)

The differences in approach to youth involvement between the two SIPs is perhaps an inevitable corollary of the Big Step being a youth focused SIP, whereas Drumchapel SIP are concerned with young people as part of a wider community focus. Thus, that Drumchapel SIP were concerned with youth involvement as a means of linking young people into decision-making by local partners, suggests an awareness of the need to link young people into community development more directly, rather than involving them in the work of the SIP, which has a limited life. Within the Big Step, on the other hand, the concern to link young people into the work of the SIP is part of their concern with consulting young people on the decisions made by the SIP to develop services. These divergences highlight not only differences in approach, but also differences in the intended aims of having young people involved in these SIPs; issues that will be considered further throughout this chapter.

As well as the locations within which young people were involved in the SIPs, there were in both SIPs aspects of the SIPs' work where young people were not participating; notably within the SIP sub-groups⁶. Given that most of the discussion on the plans for the SIPs takes place in the sub-groups, with the Board performing the role of 'rubber stamping' decisions made in these settings (Fitzpatrick et al 2000), the absence of young people from the sub-groups might be seen as a limitation. Views of respondents within the case study SIPs were, however, mixed on this point:

... I don't know what use it would be to young people to sit through more meetings. (Big Step agency partner)

If the Partnership was really committed to engaging young people then it should have young people involved in the Implementation groups, not just have a Youth Implementation Group. That to me is not the way to involve young people in things. After all, education, employment, housing and all these other things are important to them too. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

While there was diversity of opinion on this by respondents in both SIPs, it is not clear whether their absence was due to a lack of perceived gains for young people from attending these meetings, or whether this suggested a more fundamental belief that young people did not have anything additional to contribute in these meetings. Later discussions on the motivations for involving young people in the SIPs will consider this issue further.

Young people participating in the Big Step generally did not know that these groups existed so did not have a view on whether they should be involved in them. However, for young people participating in Drumchapel SIP YIG, the general view was that the other Implementation Groups were not of relevance to them:

I don't work, so why would I want to go to a meeting about work? (young person, Drumchapel YIG)

Given the existence of the YIG at Drumchapel SIP, young people were feeding into the SIP's decision-making. However, the absence of young people from the other Implementation Groups does suggest a gap in their involvement, especially given that the other SIP priorities also explicitly and implicitly focus on young people (see Chapter 6 for more on this point). Within the Big Step, the absence of young people from the Working Groups seems like a more significant gap given that this forum is where most of the SIP's work occurs. That said, it is not clear to what extent involving young people in formal partnership settings is the most

⁶ As has been noted earlier, young people in Drumchapel did take part in the Youth Implementation Group. However, no young people took part in the other Implementation Groups at Drumchapel, nor did any young people take part in the Working Groups at the Big Step.

effective route through which to facilitate their involvement in SIPs, a point taken up in the next section.

Achieving Representation?

The mix of approaches to involving young people, both formally via the SIP Board and less formally through consultative forums, does suggest attempts at varying the approach to young involvement within both SIPs. However, the extent to which the range of approaches taken by the case study SIPs offer the most effective route to facilitate representation within youth involvement requires further consideration.

Two forms of representation emerged from analysis of the practice of the case study SIPs and are used here to illustrate differences in forms of involvement taken forward. Firstly, there is 'political' representation, where the young people are elected to represent the views of a wider group of young people and are accountable to them. Secondly, there is 'population' representation, where young people are selected to participate through being representative of the wider population of young people they are to represent. Within 'population' representation the focus is on ensuring that young people are representative of the different ages, gender and ethnic groups of the population at large. In contrast to these two formalised forms of representation, a third issue relating to representation was also identified while undertaking this study. This focuses less on ensuring direct representation in all aspects of decision-making and more on ensuring that their involvement is undertaken in a way that is useful to young people.

The approach to the participation of young people within Drumchapel SIP's Board seems to be centrally driven by the political representation model, through young people, as with all Board members, being elected to their position on the Board. Of course, in reality whether political representation was achieved depends on whether there was more than one candidate standing for 'election' upon which a choice could be made on who best represents the interests of young people. Similarly, whether other young people took part in the 'election' of their representative depends on their presence at the meeting and how the election process was managed; for example, whether it was a voting system or a nomination. The elected representative is accountable to the wider constituency of young people through the annual election process, where a representative can be challenged. As before, this relies on there

being other nominees, young people being involved in the nomination process or someone being willing to contest the current representation⁷.

Within the YIG, young people were not elected, rather they were invited to participate through their involvement in other youth groups in the area. This approach links more to the idea of population representation through involving a larger number of young people than through the formal structures of the Board. However, given that the young people in this setting were aged between 14 and 18, 'older' young people were not taking part in the participatory mechanisms developed. Similarly in the Big Step, young people were also not elected to their places on the Board, rather their involvement came through links with partner agencies e.g. the Social Work Department or voluntary sector organisations offering services to young people. In this case, the age demographic is towards 'older' young people, with participants aged between 20 and 25 years.

The value of political representation is likely to be limited as more informal forms of involvement would seem easier for young people to engage with. That neither the YIG at Drumchapel SIP nor the Big Step have chosen to take this approach suggests that political representation is not a strong driver for the overall approach to youth involvement in either SIP. Indeed, in the Big Step none of the Board members, neither young people nor adults, were elected; with adult stakeholders being chosen for their expertise in their area or seniority within the organisation they represented (see Chapter 6). Within this SIP, there is no evidence of a political representation model being present. In relation to youth involvement specifically, the formal nature of political representation stands counter to the overall objective of youth involvement promoted by this SIP, which centres on linking as many young people as possible into the work of the SIP to ensure that they are consulted on the activities undertaken.

While population representation is more commonly attempted, this also brings problems in practice. Firstly, problems with age representation at the neighbourhood level result from the fact that it is usually teenagers rather than 'older' young people, who participate in youth groups (Fitzpatrick et al 1998). This fits with the practice that has been shown to emerge within Drumchapel YIG. Indeed, previous research has shown that within local decision-making settings the lack of focus on engaging older young people is the result of this group being considered 'a lost cause' (Fitzpatrick et al 1998). Research has also highlighted

⁷ The approach is influential in that a vote suggests an active decision (and the need for a choice to vote with), whereas a nomination involves either complying or actively contesting the nomination. The approach taken (as is common in this type of decision-making) was one of nomination and seconding.

difficulties at the neighbourhood level with facilitating representation of minority ethnic communities (Taylor & Roe 1996), although in Fitzpatrick et al's study, this was the one area of youth representation that was found to be a success. Further, Edwards (2001) illustrates the limitations in the practice of involving disabled people within local decision-making settings. Indeed, within the case study SIPs there was no explicit evidence of attempts to ensure representation of minority ethnic or disabled people.

The age demographic of young people participating in the Big Step illustrates greater success at engaging older care leavers, with less evidence of representation of younger care leavers and those still in care. Involvement of this particular group of young people, therefore, may bring with it different issues than within local neighbourhood settings, as a comment on the Big Step consultation day illustrates:

It was clear to us that the young people who were still in care had not only a different perspective from those who had left care (which is only to be expected). Those young people who had left care also displayed a different attitude to the whole idea of consultation about moving on because of the benefit of an element of hindsight which allows them, perhaps, to consider not only how things are and how they were, but also how they might have been. (Big Step 2000b; 19/20)

Older young people were seen as having gained a perspective that, perhaps, was not present when they were younger. From attending the youth consultation event held by the Big Step, and noting discussions there, it was clear that many care leavers felt that their first few years after leaving residential care required them to learn a lot and to become independent quickly. This is a view cited in research on the transition processes of care leavers (see, for example, Beihal et al 1995). As such, the capacity of younger care leavers and those still in care to engage with the work programme of the SIP is likely to be more limited. The limits of population representation are further evident through the fact that the young people involved with the SIP were those who had been in residential care rather than those 'under supervision' and living at home or those in foster care, even though the SIP stated that their work focused on all of these groups (see Chapter 6).

Further compounding the difficulties with representation within the Big Step was acknowledgement that a very small number of young people were regularly participating in a range of different settings within the SIP, which was leading to an over-reliance on the same young people over a long period:

The way that [the staff] are consulting with young people just now is like they have 4 or 5 young people who are like professional consultants. And it's the same young people and it's the first young people; it was a real drop-in group who have moved on. You just wonder why they don't consult with more young people. (Big Step agency partner)

This in itself is problematic with regard to widening the representation of young people beyond the core group who have been involved for a long time to also gather the views of younger care leavers and those still in care. In addition, there was also noted to be a problem with one young person not being willing to move on to training or employment:

... if they are reliable, capable, learning quite a bit from here then really they should be getting themselves into some sort of employment and get a life for themselves. And yet ... there is an element to [one young person] where he has basically said 'no, I don't want a job'. (Big Step officer)

The approach to youth involvement promoted within this SIP has brought with it a situation where a small number of young people are intensively involved with the SIP. The problems associated with this relate to two issues. Firstly, the over-reliance on only a very small number of young people and their extensive involvement in the SIP has led to a position where some young people have become dependent on the activities of the SIP to occupy their time. This is likely to have great personal gains for the small number of young people that are participating in this activity, but it raises questions about their long-term outcome given that the SIP only has a limited life. In particular, where participating in the SIP comes at the expense of participation in training or employment, the question of what they will do when the SIP ends is unclear. Secondly, the fact that the approach being adopted seems to rely on intensively involving only a few young people also means that the impact of the personal development work being undertaken will only be felt by a very small number of young people (see next section for more on this point).

In short, representation is recognised as a difficult aspect of the agenda on youth involvement and one that both SIPs were conscious of in their attempts to involve young people in the SIPs:

It is an ongoing problem... trying to get young people to take part in these quite formal meetings... (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

I would like greater representation of young people, but it is fraught with difficulty... I have always been clear with the manager of the SIP that it is not about tokenism and I am not encouraging young people to sit round a table and not be involved or participate. It takes a lot of support but it also takes work from the adults on the Board, which is something I encourage because it is not always the responsibility of the young people to come up to the adult level. (Big Step agency partner)

The difficulties with involving young people in formal decision-making settings relate in part to young people only wanting to be consulted on issues that they consider relevant (Borland & Hill 2001), while the formal nature of some decision-making forums, with the associated jargon and often weighty paperwork, are seen as off-putting for some young people

(Fitzpatrick et al 1998). Because of these issues, it is recognised that formal involvement in the SIP is not something that would suit every young person:

The contact that we have with young people just now, by and large, in terms of Board membership, it suits a certain type of young person. (Big Step officer)

I am not sure how many [young people] that aren't taking part in other things would cope with these meetings. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

In response to the limits of direct representation, respondents in the Big Step, were using other routes to gather the views of young people:

I think the representation of 'Who Cares?' on the Board is really important. It is much better if the young person can be there to represent themselves, but I think that people respect that if somebody from Who Cares? is saying that 'young people that I've met with recently are such and such'. [Board members] are not going to question that... we would need to be cautious that we were always aware enough of the young people's own agenda... [But, at the same time] I don't know that we can assume that [X (one particular young person on the SIP Board)] is necessarily going to be representative of others. (Big Step agency partner)

'Who Cares? Scotland' being an advocacy agency for young people is, therefore, thought to be well placed to speak on behalf of young people. This is a view debated in research by Boylan & Ing (2000), who similarly argue that advocacy can play a role in supporting youth representation, rather than offering a direct replacement for it. Indeed, young people themselves recognised the value in this representation, both to support them directly and to acknowledge that not all young people would want to get involved with the SIP:

Remember a lot of young people don't feel like talking to places like this, they usually feel like talking to people their own age or a couple of years older... when I was younger it felt like sometimes you didn't want to talk to people older than you, you think that you can just talk to someone who is going through what you are right now. But [the youth worker] from Who Cares is here and, 'cos he went through it⁸, he is easier to talk to. (young person, Big Step Board)

This view that representation could be improved through advocacy or other support within the formal setting of SIP meetings was not promoted through Drumchapel SIP's approach to community involvement. While support mechanisms were available to facilitate direct youth and adult community involvement within the SIP, this support was not expected to involve direct advocacy for community members. In practice, there had been some debate on the

⁸ Youth workers at Who Cares? Scotland are employed in their advocacy role having themselves been 'in care'.

potential benefits of community members having their support officer from the Community Support Unit⁹ attend SIP Board meetings with them:

I was asked to sit in on Board meetings by the Community Forum but the [Chair] refused that. I think it would have been useful, but I wouldn't be there to say anything, I would just be an observer. In terms of discussing with the reps how they argue their case and how they discuss issues in terms of feedback it would have been useful. There are also nuances that you pick up at these meetings. I think the [Chair] objected because she thought my presence would mean that I would speak on behalf of the community reps, instead of them speaking for themselves. Being 'in attendance', I wouldn't be able to, but she felt that they would look to me for support. (Drumchapel SIP, agency partner)

The formal nature of community involvement in this SIP further reinforces this position, with the aim being to encourage political representation and community development rather than focusing on consulting community members on the work plans of the SIP. In this context, that the officer from CSU could not attend the SIP Board meeting was seen within the Board membership as allowing community representatives to speak for themselves¹⁰. However, community representatives having asked for his attendance, this suggests that they were looking for support in their participation in these meetings.

The acknowledgement of the value of 'professional' advocacy and informal support within both SIPs highlights the relatively disempowered position of community members, and young people in particular, within participatory settings. The absence of 'professional' representation within Drumchapel SIP serves to focus attention on the community themselves, whether this is young people or adult community representatives. However, given the acknowledged role that can be played by advocacy groups on behalf of those who do not feel that they are adequately listened to within group settings, there does seem to be some value in supporting the voice of disempowered groups through advocacy based representation. Thus, effective involvement of young people is likely to be facilitated by a mixture of direct involvement by young people in various decision-making settings (both continuous and one-off), while supported by other indirect mechanisms that allow the representation of their views by those charged with speaking on their behalf.

⁹ As noted in Appendix 12 the Community Support Unit (CSU) is the staff support arm of the Community Forum (the 'representative' body of community members who feed community views into the SIP and promote community development in the area). One of the roles of the CSU is to support community members in their involvement in the SIP through facilitating pre-meetings to discuss SIP business.

¹⁰ Of course, as SIP Board meetings are public meetings open to anyone, the officer from CSU could attend in this observational role. That they did not, suggests a courtesy to the Chair having been refused attendance.

Motivations for Youth Involvement

The above discussion shows that both SIPs have taken different approaches to facilitate youth involvement and have done so with different objectives in mind. However, that both SIPs are concerned to link young people into the structures of the Partnerships in various ways leads to questions about the motivations for involving young people in the work of the SIPs, as well as questions on what young people themselves identify as their motivations for participating in these settings. What emerges from this discussion are broad similarities in the main reasons for involvement between adults and young people, but within this differences in emphasis both between adults and young people and between the young people within the two SIPs. To consider this further, three broad categories of youth involvement are identified as underpinning the motivations for youth involvement:

- *Political*: encouraging young people to have a voice in decision-making.
- *Managerial*: a concern with efficiency and sustainability of developments.
- *Developmental*: focusing on self-development. (Fitzpatrick et al 2000)

With regard to the political motivations for involvement, it is clear that the need to give young people a voice in decision-making was seen by adult respondents as central:

We need to get across to the young people in Drumchapel that we want to get them involved... it is important that all levels of government and agencies take the time to listen to young people's views...
(Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

We are all about the young people at the end of the day so we want to hear what they are saying. (Big Step officer)

Young people, similarly, recognise the value of participation as allowing the opportunity to given their views on the work of the SIPs:

We get to put our point in and say what we want. (young person, Drumchapel YIG)

You have things to say, you have a voice, if you think something is wrong or not right you can say something, you can tell them. (young person, Big Step Board)

While this illustrates the importance of hearing the voice of young people within the work of the SIPs, it is unclear whether this is intended to ensure young people are consulted on the decisions that are made by adult stakeholders or whether young people have any significant influence over the day to day decision-making of the SIPs or individual partners (Hart 1992). There was some acknowledgement that their role was more than consultative in that their presence served to challenge SIP partners within the Big Step:

If they don't formally sit there people will forget what they are there to do. Their inputs to the Board are interesting and they challenge us, which should have happened a long time ago... It is about changing things by listening to young people and making sure their views are taken on board. (Big Step agency partner)

However, even while hearing the voice of young people and allowing them a forum to challenge adult partners, this does not necessarily lead to young people having any influence over the decisions that are made within the SIPs. Indeed, given earlier discussions of the difficulties with achieving representation of young people within SIPs, the promotion of 'voice' suggests linking young people into the SIPs without explicitly acknowledging the power differences between different groups participating in this setting (Cameron & Davoudi 1998). Giving young people a voice, therefore, does not suggest any explicit attempt to achieve 'empowerment'.

With the Big Step explicitly focusing on promoting the voice of young people as a means of ensuring consultation, their approach fits with their intended aims. However, within Drumchapel SIP the suggestion that promoting the voice of young people will lead to any degree of influence over partners does not take adequate account of their relatively disempowered position within these settings. Indeed, as later discussions on the challenges of youth involvement illustrate, the lack of an influencing role for young people is a serious challenge to the effectiveness of youth involvement in this particular SIP.

The second set of issues identified relate to the managerial motivations for involving young people. Here particular attention is given within Drumchapel SIP to ensuring sustainability of the activities undertaken. In particular, adult partners argue that local young people are the 'future' of the area:

I think that we need to remember that young people are the future of Drumchapel and if they are taking part in the work going on then they can help to influence what happens here. (Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

It is worth noting that only respondents in Drumchapel SIP identified this role for young people as 'future' citizens (Prout 2000). In part, this is explained as follows:

If we can get [young people] involved now they're not going to let the place go downhill the way it did when it was first built. (Drumchapel SIP community representative)

The concern that this approach raises relates to the potential that young people may be encouraged to get involved, not for what they contribute currently as young people, but for what they might achieve in taking responsibility for the area in the future (Fitzpatrick et al 1998; Matthews 2001).

Young people in both SIPs were similarly aware of the need to take responsibility for change. However, for young people the emphasis was on what they could contribute towards change for other young people, whether the next generation of care leavers or other young people living in Drumchapel:

I don't want other people leaving care to go through what I did so I'm here to tell people what needs to change. (young person, Big Step Board)

I wanted to get more stuff round here not just for me but for my wee brother as well. (young person, Drumchapel YIG)

This commitment to changing the opportunities open to other young people suggests awareness by young people of the particular role that they can play in influencing change. However, the focus is less on ensuring that they are invested in the future of the developments undertaken, and more on what they can offer from their own experience as young people. Thus, for young people, the motivation for involvement is less related to managerial concerns around sustainability of developments and more about political concerns to ensure that their voice plays a role in changing services for young people.

Thirdly, with regard to self-development as a motivation for encouraging youth involvement, it is evident that both adults and young people share a commitment to this aspect of involvement. That young people personally gain from their involvement in the SIPs in terms of improving their self-confidence, was one illustration of this point:

[A's] contribution is far greater than just the fact that [A] is a young person who has been in care. It is a valuable contribution and I think [A] is beginning to believe that as well. (Big Step agency partner)

There is a lot of good discussion going on and they are becoming involved in it and are not afraid to speak. (Drumchapel SIP community representative)

It is recognised that young people gain from the opportunity to participate in the SIPs formal structures. This suggests both that they can use their 'voice' in this setting, but also that young people are growing in confidence from their involvement:

[Being involved with the SIP] makes me feel important. (young person, Big Step Board)

However, whether this was originally an aim of involving young people or has emerged as an outcome from the activity is not clear. For young people, self-development from involvement in the SIPs highlights more than just an improved self-confidence. Indeed, there was a view, related to earlier discussions of the role of young people in taking responsibility for change,

that they had the relevant experience and commitment to be the one that made that change happen:

It might be the only chance I have in [my life] that I can be remembered for something. Life coming out of care was shite; there was nothing, no services, no help... (young person, Big Step Board)

For several young people this personal experience was seen as central to their motivation for involvement. This also suggested a strong personal gain from involvement, although over time this changed to incorporate the needs of other young people:

Its just that when I was younger it was like, you hung about the streets, you drank or took drugs or whatever. That is definitely what I didn't want for me. I wanted to get my education, get a good job and things like that... But it is now about making provision for young people, people like I was when I was twelve. Getting places for them to go, because there wasn't anywhere, especially at the weekend, there still is nowhere. Hopefully there is going to be somewhere soon. But it was just about getting the young people of Drumchapel what they want because I thought I was the person who could get them things... (young person, Drumchapel Board)

Implicit within this perspective is a suggestion that involvement has offered an alternative from more 'problematic' behaviours. Thus, their personal motivation for involvement relates to their wish to find an alternative for themselves and for other young people. A similar point emerges through the opportunities offered to challenge commonly held adult perceptions of young people as problem-causing:

You only hang around outside 'cos there isn't anything else to do. [Being involved with the SIP should] change that... not just that there's nothing to do, but the stuff about people thinking that we are causing trouble when we're not. (young person, Drumchapel YIG)

For care leavers, this opportunity to challenge commonly held perceptions of this group was a significant motivation for their involvement in the SIP:

It's great that people are realising from me talking to them that care leavers aren't all bad. (young person, Big Step Board)

For this group of young people in particular there were strong ties between feelings of self-worth and their participation in the SIP. Thus, having a voice in the SIP was identified as leading to both improvements in how other people (adults) perceive them, while also suggesting that, from this, they were valued in a way not the case previously. The experience of being in care and the negative view of this group of young people (Baldwin et al 1997) suggest that the self-development aspects of involvement for the small number of young people participating in the Big Step have a particular resonance.

The suggestion that young people are 'problem-causing' implies a challenge for youth involvement in SIPs that could suggest one explanation for differences in opinion between

adults and young people on why young people are present. In particular, that there are differences in emphases between adults and young people in the motivations for having young people involved in the SIPs suggests the potential for conflict to emerge when working in partnership. With this in mind, this final section explores further the practices that have emerged within the SIPs in involving young people and reflects on the view held of young people in terms of how this has steered the approach taken to involve young people in the work of the SIPs.

Youth Involvement in Practice

As was discussed in Chapter 2, it is common for policy to view young people as either in trouble, or causing trouble (Roche & Tucker 1997). This view is reinforced through the associations between young people and drug misuse, unemployment and lone parenthood, as well as through their roles as both victims and perpetrators of crime (Cohen 1997). This focus on young people raises questions about the potential perspective held of young people when engaging them in the work of the SIPs. This is particularly interesting in the context of a partnership setting where there is a lack of explicit policy acknowledgment of heterogeneity between and within specific 'communities' (Hayton 1996); a focus that underplays the potential for tension and power imbalances between groups, notably between adults and young people (Byrne 1999).

As is consistent with the earlier comments by young people on their reasons for taking part in the Board meetings in the case study SIPs, young people involved in the Board meetings at both SIPs perceived that their involvement was taken seriously and that they had the chance to speak when they wished to do so:

You are getting something out of it. They are actually listening to you, but you have to listen to them at the same point. (young person, Big Step Board)

... I don't think I'm treated any different from anyone else there. (young person, Drumchapel Board)

In contrast to this view, however, the young people taking part in the YIG at Drumchapel SIP felt that their views were not listened to:

They should bring us in to it more.

When they bring up an issue they just need to ask what the young people think of it instead of just going on. You sit with your hand up for ages and they don't notice.

(young people, Drumchapel YIG)

Observation of SIP Board meetings in both SIPs and of the YIG meetings in Drumchapel did support this general position, with young people in the Board meetings interacting to some extent with the discussions taking place. Within the YIG, however, the group of young people present were generally quiet and not engaged in the discussions taking place. However, what is interesting about the particular dynamic of the YIG meeting was that it was a young person that chaired the meeting. This is not to suggest that they were actively leaving the young people out of the meeting. Rather, the general size of the group present (around 15 adults and about 6 young people on average) and the amount of 'business' to go through, left little room for open dialogue. For young people, this general feeling that their opinion was not of interest within the YIG setting seemed to fuel their frustration with the SIP in relation to their lack of contact with adult partners more generally:

... some say "alright [X], how are you doin'", but that's about it.

The Youth Implementation Group is for young people and hardly any of them [adult members] socialise with the young people, and that is in the meeting, just comin' in and talkin' to the adults. And that's how the adults sit there, they dinnae come to us and say anythin'.

(young people, Drumchapel YIG)

In contrast, adult agency partners did not perceive their relationship with the young people in the YIG in the same way:

We try to involve young people as much as we can... Yes, there are a lot of agencies at that meeting, but we are only there to answer their questions and if we weren't they would complain about that too.
(Drumchapel SIP agency partner)

At one level, this respondent did not consider that young people were being left out of discussions taking place in the YIG meetings, although they do acknowledge that they were making efforts to involve them within a setting dominated by adults and that this required concessions to be made. However, the fact that their involvement was seen as a concession, and that the impression was that young people would not be happy with whatever provision was made, suggests divisions between young people and adult SIP partners. The result was that adult partners neither acknowledged that any problems were occurring in the way that they were engaging with young people, nor was there any recognition of a need to change the way that interaction in these meetings occurred.

What underlay this division was a lack of any explicit acknowledgement of the particular contribution that young people could make to these meetings by bringing their own perspective to bear. This significantly reduced the value that young people identified as gaining

from participating in the YIG meetings and led to some young people growing increasingly disillusioned with the value of their involvement:

I haven't been happy with it lately 'cos all the meetings we've been to and asked for things and still none of it's happened. It's just, like, a waste of time. (young person, Drumchapel YIG)

While it was noted earlier that adults perceived young people's contribution to be valuable in bringing their voice to proceedings, for young people in the YIG this seemed to be limited by their voice not seeming to have any impact on developments. The plans to develop a local 'one stop shop' provides a clear example of the divisions between young people and adults:

I think the [agency] view of a 'one-stop-shop' is different from a young person's view of a 'one-stop-shop'. That is where the difficulty is. The [agencies] are pushing for a 'one-stop-shop' that is about training and information and the young people want something that is going to be a big youth centre that does that, but also has a recreational side. [Agencies] are focusing more on this other thing and that is not what [young people] want. (Drumchapel SIP community representative)

This sense by young people that their needs are being ignored in favour of the issues identified by adults seems to explain a significant element of the conflict that has emerged between youth YIG members and adults.

In contrast to this position, there was no evidence of any conflict between young people and adults in proceedings within Drumchapel SIP Board, where neither the two young people nor the adults present expressed any concerns about the role played by the young people in this setting. This might be explained through the young people in this setting being a bit older (18-19 rather than 14-16 years old) which means in practice having been participating in local management committees for several years. This seems to have given them a confidence similar to adult community representatives:

... I can quite easily argue my point and that's that.

Q: Could you do it in [the Board meeting] where there are maybe 20 people sitting round the table?

Y: Yes! I think I am very aware of the political things in Drumchapel and [who is] influential. And because of the politics that goes on, then you need to open your eyes and think. You need to play them at their own game. That's the way of life, the ways things have always happened. (young person, Drumchapel Board)

This comment illustrates both their knowledge of the local context and the people that are influential in this setting. In addition, they also allude to having developed the skills to manage the way that they get involved in the SIP and the local community setting. This suggests not only having developed experience of how things work at the local level in terms of who holds power and where decisions are made, but also an awareness of that they need to develop strategies to be influential in this setting.

With young people in the YIG clearly expressing their frustrations over their lack of influence within this setting, the suggestion is that they had not yet acquired either this awareness of the local political context or a strategy for how to use their voice effectively within this setting. Of course, that young people on the Board acknowledge that this is 'the way things have always happened' means that they are aware of power imbalances and are working to respond to these. In so doing, they both maintain this position and take on responsibility for finding an effective way of feeding in to local decisions. Adult partners, on the other hand, do not have to take responsibility for changing their practices to ensure that they adequately take account of the needs of young people.

It is clear then that the formal participatory methods promoted in Drumchapel SIP bring limitations in practice. The priority of ensuring that young people are 'making a greater contribution to decision-making processes' (see Appendix 10) is taken forward by promoting political representation within the SIP Board and supported by wider involvement of young people in the YIG where young people are encouraged to engage directly with agency partners. This approach has left some young people with the view that their involvement does not have any real influence over the actions taken by partner agencies. Indeed, it was evident that young people and agency partners being together at YIG meetings was not increasing engagement between them, and that agency partners were not, at present, changing their practices to facilitate greater youth engagement.

In contrast to this, the approach taken within the Big Step was shown previously to offer a much more informal style of involvement focusing on consultative mechanisms and a wide range of informal methods of involvement. As a result, with the exception of the Board meetings, young people were not in direct contact with agency partners in their involvement with the SIP; with contact with the SIP being made via the SIP youth worker and other staff involving young people in the activities they were taking forward e.g. the self-harm research project. Through this approach, young people were positive about the range of routes through which they were able to participate in the SIP:

I get to talk to all these people at these meetings... we did the video that gets shown at conferences and stuff where loads of people see it... there are loads of things that we do. (young person, Big Step Board)

The absence of any conflict in young people's relationships with adults in the Big Step is, in part, a response to their view that they play a relatively active role in the SIP, and that they identify their voice as feeding in to the SIP Board. However, there is an alternative perspective on why there is no acknowledgement of a conflict basis to the relations between young people

and staff or agency partners, which arguably relates to their involvement being much less politicised than that of young people involved in Drumchapel SIP.

Given that the young people involved with the Big Step have little contact with the decision-making settings e.g. the Working Groups, they are not put in situations where they are required to negotiate with adult partners over decisions made by the SIP. This consultative approach means that their voice is fed in to proceedings, but the decisions made in the Working Groups are made without their direct involvement. This approach is part of the overarching working style adopted by the Big Step (see Chapter 8) where the staff take responsibility for influencing agency partners and promoting the needs of young people through an advocacy style approach:

We do advocate on behalf of care leavers... It is an important part of our work. We need to be reminding agencies and policy-makers that this is a particularly vulnerable group of young people who have a range of complex needs and that services need to be available to meet these needs. (Big Step officer)

Although young people are present within the SIP Board at the Big Step, this is not the location within which negotiations over the provision of new services, or changes to current provision, occur. Thus, unlike within Drumchapel SIP, young people in the Big Step are not expected to take on a direct influencing role in steering the services delivered by agency partners. Their role in the SIP is, therefore, less likely to bring them into conflict with adult partners or to require them to develop strategies to negotiate in settings dominated by adults.

It is debateable whether the approach taken within the Big Step to involving young people offers a more effective route through which to influence the work of agency partners than that adopted by Drumchapel SIP. By encouraging a direct engagement between young people and adult partners within the YIG at this SIP, what emerges is a conflict relationship that serves to highlight the relatively disempowered position of local young people within this setting. At its most positive, the process of politicisation that young people in Drumchapel are going through will teach them to negotiate on their own behalf in the longer term. The skills developed by the youth Board members are evidence of one approach to developing ways of interacting with this decision-making setting. However, the difficulty with this approach is that some young people will, inevitably, become disillusioned with the processes in place and will withdraw from participation in these forums as a result of the problems encountered in attempting to engage with power-holders at the local level. On the other hand, the approach being taken forward by the Big Step is much more conciliatory and thus much easier for young people to get involved in. However, with it, the emphasis remains on the, arguably,

more limited role of consultation rather than giving real decision-making authority to young people.

Conclusion

This chapter has set out to explore the different approaches to youth involvement promoted within the case study SIPs. Attention has been given to the differences in practice pursued by these SIPs and the underlying motivations for these differences. The Big Step's greater concern with consultative mechanisms for involvement was argued to link to their general approach to youth involvement as being a way of getting the views of young people into the work of the SIP using a range of different forms of involvement. That advocacy was recognised as an alternative route to gather the views of young people and to promote their views to agency partners was consistent with promoting this consultative agenda. The one formal route through which young people are feeding into this SIP, the SIP Board, remains a relatively unproblematic location for participation by those that attend it. However, it is not clear whether the approach taken within this SIP represents real empowerment of young people or whether, as decision-making is occurring elsewhere, the potential influence of young people is lost through this approach.

Within Drumchapel SIP, on the other hand, the focus on direct involvement of young people within the SIP was intended to promote their development as 'future' adults and to facilitate their relationships with agency partners in order that they could better influence service delivery in the local area. The absence of any advocacy role within this SIP supports this position, where the purpose of involving community members, including young people, was to encourage their direct responsibility for taking forward the change agenda. However, for the young people involved, the barriers to successfully influencing change led to them either feeling passive within their involvements with the SIP or, in the case of SIP Board members, to pursuing strategies to facilitate their effective involvement within this setting. In the local context then, it seems that the role of young people within partnership settings requires them to acknowledge the political context within which they are participating and to find a way to negotiate in order to effectively participate. What this suggests is a lack of acknowledgement on the part of agency and other adult partners' that there is any need to change their practices to more effectively involve young people.

The main difficulties that emerge from the practice of the case study SIPs in involving young people relate to the divergences in approach to involvement and how these potentially allow young people to influence agency partners within this setting. It has been shown here that

there are different ways of involving young people that lead to more or less direct contact between young people and adults and through this a greater or lesser role for young people in taking responsibility for influencing the work of agency partners in meeting the needs of young people. The extent to which the chosen approach of the two case study SIPs leads to empowerment of young people is unclear given that the politicisation of young people promoted in Drumchapel SIP brings with it a challenge for young people in learning how to effectively negotiate to have their needs met. In the Big Step, on the other hand, the relatively passive role for young people is less difficult to undertake, but leads to a much less politicised position through not having to navigate decision-making settings or negotiate their needs directly. That said, within both SIPs, the small numbers of young people participating were clearly gaining extensive self-development from this activity from their experiences of being involved in the SIPs. It is this gain that is potentially most significant to those young people directly involved with the SIPs, regardless of whether they are politicised through this engagement or not.

Chapter 11: Conclusions & Policy Implications

Introduction

The principal aim of this thesis has been to compare the approach adopted by one thematic and one area-based Social Inclusion Partnership (SIP) to promote social inclusion for young people. This final chapter draws conclusions from the analysis undertaken and suggests possible policy responses that emerge from the data collected in this study.

The discussion starts by reflecting on the theoretical and policy influences underpinning the agenda on social inclusion taken forward within the case study SIPs. Attention is given to the current priorities and underlying principles framing the approach taken within the SIPs to promote social inclusion for young people. From there, reflections are made on the comparative practices identified as central to the work of the case study SIPs centring on strategic working, working in partnership and involving young people in the decision-making of the SIPs. The chapter ends by reflecting on the wider applicability of the findings from the case study SIPs in relation to the potential contribution made by area-based and thematic approaches to promoting social inclusion; at which point suggestions are also put forward for future policy in this area.

Theoretical & Policy Influences

The study has found that central to the policy agenda on promoting social inclusion is a dual concern with promoting opportunities for participation within mainstream economic and social life underpinned by an ideological positioning within which excluded groups are expected to take up the opportunities made available by playing an active role in society. Within the context of SIPs this agenda is taken forward through a range of initiatives aimed at providing opportunities to participate in employment and education as well as providing the necessary services via housing, health and social supports to allow people to move towards playing a more active role in their community and in mainstream economic and social life. This focus is reinforced at the neighbourhood level by encouraging local people to play an active role in regenerating their neighbourhoods in order to tie them into the change agenda with the aim that they will maintain improvements to the local area in the longer term.

In theoretical terms, the key principles that emerge as central to the social inclusion agenda relate to the promotion of a social integration discourse centring on labour market participation as the main route to achieve social inclusion. There is also evidence of a communitarian agenda underpinning the political positioning taken forward through the social

inclusion approach, which brings with it a moral focus that aims to reduce the problems for wider society of the existence of social exclusion as well as increasing the opportunities available to people to participate in socially acceptable economic and social activities. Through this focus, what emerges is a policy context that promotes a mixture of rights and responsibilities, emphasising reciprocity as the principal objective of policy interventions.

The particular focus on young people that has emerged as part of this overarching policy agenda means that much of the concern of the social inclusion programme taken forward in SIPs centres on addressing young people's lack of involvement in acceptable economic and social activities. While the explicit focus of the programme taken forward within the case study SIPs is to provide the opportunities for participation, the implicit agenda focuses on reducing the problematic aspects of young people's behaviour which bring with them high economic, social and individual costs. In taking this focus, there is no explicit policy acknowledgement of inequalities in access to social capital, financial resources and the effects of social class on the opportunities and resources available to young people.

The response to this agenda within the case study SIPs has been to focus on addressing many of the problems associated with young people both at the neighbourhood level and in terms of the problems caused by a lack of adequate services throughout the city to meet need. Within Drumchapel SIP, this has led to a focus on providing local services and supports to allow young people to play an active role in the community and economy either now or in the longer term through initiatives to improve school attendance and performance, programmes to get young people into work and funding to support youth social activities. These initiatives are supported by the direct involvement of young people within the SIP in order to encourage young people to take an active role in their community and through this to link them into the longer term sustainability of their community. Encouraging young people to participate in the SIP is therefore part of this wider concern to manage their negative behaviour through encouraging them to play an active role in taking forward change in the area. Through this approach, there is a wish at the neighbourhood level at least to manage the actions of young people through greater surveillance and control over their activities.

Within the Big Step, the focus on young people also centres on increasing opportunities for participation in mainstream economic and social life through the development of services to better meet need. However, within this SIP young people are viewed less as a cause of problems and more as experiencing a range of problems. The expectation is that the programme taken forward will in the longer term lead to a more active role for this group of young people through greater involvement in employment and education and supports to

address homelessness, drug misuse and mental health problems. As with other policy interventions to address social exclusion, implicit to this programme is a concern to reduce the social and economic costs of young people's negative behaviour.

The problem focus that drives the work of the SIPs is an inevitable corollary of the policy focus emerging within the social inclusion framework, where the priority is to focus attention and resources on those in greatest need. However, the identification by adult respondents of young people's active role in reinforcing their exclusion through their actions and attitudes suggests a perception of young people as responsible for some of the problems they face; although there is some recognition that these occur within a particular social and economic context. Thus, while SIPs are not in a position to influence the existence of social and economic inequalities, they do play a role in managing the consequences of this phenomenon. The result is that SIPs respond to the effects of social exclusion in relation to the actions and attitudes of young people, while doing so within a context of understanding the socio-economic factors that lead to these behaviours. As a result, it is difficult to extrapolate from this the relative importance of social justice or social control as guiding the work that is undertaken to promote social inclusion; with both being likely to be seen as justifiable elements of a programme intended to achieve social integration.

The Practice of SIPs

Working to a Strategic Agenda?

The study has shown that there is a pull for SIPs to work towards promoting social inclusion for young people by following the programme that is outlined by SIPs at the time of applying for funding. Through this approach, the SIPs were expected to outline their priorities and intended programme of work prior to gaining funding. Over time, their achievements would then be assessed by the Scottish Executive to monitor progress made towards achieving the SIP's strategic aims and moving towards achieving social inclusion. When applying for funding, both SIPs identified different approaches to achieving social inclusion; with Drumchapel SIP setting out a clear remit to fund local projects to fill gaps in mainstream provision and the Big Step identifying a gap filling role that implied that a staff team would be employed who would provide services directly to young people.

For Drumchapel SIP, the practice that emerged once funding was in place was in keeping with their intended programme of work, with local project funding playing a central part in the work programme taken forward by this SIP. However, for the Big Step there was a long period of development during the first year where the practice of the SIP was under review

and where plans for how the SIP would take forward their priorities changed. What emerged was a 'strategic influencing' role for the SIP, with funding being used to support pilot initiatives inside agency partners' organisations that were intended in the future to be funded by these partners. This approach was considered to promote a 'strategic' working approach as a result of partners being asked to make a long-term commitment to maintain the developments introduced by the SIP. However, this change of approach emerged without a formal request to the Scottish Executive as SIP funder. This suggests a lack of clarity at the outset by both the Scottish Executive and by the SIP themselves on the role to be played by thematic SIPs. Further, there is also a freedom available to this type of SIP that is potentially not open to area-based SIPs, perhaps due to their lack of historical funding.

In contrast, Drumchapel SIP having chosen the project funding approach is clearly steered by the local context of area-based SIPs that have long used regeneration funding to support local community initiatives. Indeed, this approach is linked to a range of inter-related factors, not the least of which is the annual funding cycle that puts pressure on SIPs to find a way of spending their annual funding allocation over a relatively short time. Added to this are historical expectations from community members, with Urban Programme funding being used to bring necessary additional resources to the area to support community initiatives increasingly suffering from cuts in local authority funding.

The Big Step not having taken this approach is likely to relate to the lack of a strong community presence within the Partnership. As discussed below, young people's participation in this SIP has been slow to develop while also framed by a large professional presence within the Partnership, where there is a commitment to the concept of 'strategic working'. The development of the Big Step's approach to working is, therefore, framed within a particular context where there is a lack of any historical expectations of how this funding stream should be spent and where young people, as the community of interest represented within the SIP, are not in a strong position to influence the work undertaken.

A central element of the role to be played by SIPs was to use the SIP fund to link up with other funding sources. In practice, differences have emerged between the case study SIPs in terms of their success at linking up with external funding sources. Given the lack of any *pooling* of the budgets of mainstream partner agencies to co-ordinate funding across agencies to meet the needs of deprived neighbourhoods or excluded groups, the focus of funding allocations has been on the *bending* of mainstream funding sources or *levering* of specialist funding towards SIP priorities. Drumchapel SIP have had more success at leveraging in specialist funding sources such as European Structural Funds and funding from local voluntary sector than mainstream

partner agencies, while the Big Step had more success at bending funding from mainstream partners. This is partly accounted for through the approach taken to working, with the pilot initiatives developed by the Big Step facilitating shared funding of new initiatives using both the SIP fund and individual partner contributions. The project funding approach employed by Drumchapel SIP does not create this opportunity to engage in debates with partners on sharing funding of new initiatives, as the SIP's role is to encourage others to develop new initiatives that the SIP financially supports.

Another explanation for this difference in sources of funding accessed relates to the membership of the SIPs and the level at which they both work. Within Drumchapel SIP, for example, the membership of the Partnership is made up of a wider range of partners, many of whom are not mainstream service delivery agencies, rather they are community members and local voluntary sector organisations. In the Big Step, the membership consists of more mainstream agencies (and those who hold budgets within these agencies), which could explain why more funding from these sources than from specialist funding sources has been accessed. The issue that remains unclear on this point is extent to which the resource-sharing that is taking place relates to pre-planned funding already committed by partners that the SIP has been able to support or alternatively where there has been a 'bend' of mainstream funding towards SIP priorities as a result of the influence of the SIP. It seems likely that the approach taken by the Big Step in working with partner agencies to develop new services with SIP funding is more likely to result in a 'bend' of funding than the approach taken within Drumchapel SIP.

An interesting aspect of the work undertaken by the SIPs in addition to managing their funding is the external networking function performed to a greater or lesser extent by staff in both SIPs. This linking up with other partnership and policy developments was identified as important to both share information on other policy and practice developments of relevance to the work of SIPs and also to influence the work of these forums. The large number of new partnership and policy developments that have emerged in recent years accounts for the need for this networking function to be undertaken by SIP staff. In fact, as later discussions on the practice of partnership working will show, it is due to a lack of any formal co-ordination of these different partnership arrangements that this networking function has emerged as a central role for SIP staff.

This discussion illustrated that in policy and practice there is a lack of clarity on what is meant when using the language of 'strategic working', with two priorities identified around promoting the achievement of the SIPs' strategic aims or promoting sustainability of

developments. In fact, what has emerged within both policy and practice settings' is a central concern with achieving the SIPs' strategic aims rather than achieving sustainability as an objective in itself. This is the result of the policy steer promoting annual funding and reporting which focuses on seeing outputs from the work of the SIPs. The project-funding model taken forward by Drumchapel SIP is clearly influenced by this output focus. However, this focus limits the potential for SIPs to promote sustainability, as this requires partners (both agencies and community members) investing in and being willing participants in the change agenda; a process that takes time to develop and encourage partner agencies to change their practice to respond to. The approach taken by the Big Step in working with partners to pilot new service developments inside partner agencies illustrates an attempt to use the SIP fund to move towards responding to this sustainability agenda. However, with this approach come difficulties with measuring impact from the work of the SIP when there are not many new services leading to additional outputs that can be measured to illustrate change. Nonetheless, it offers a new and innovative approach not encumbered by historical rules on how change should be achieved.

Partnership Working

The partnership framework within which SIPs operate is thought to offer a useful tool for bringing partners together for a number of purposes. In particular, the study found that partnership working offered the potential to:

- encourage a range of stakeholders to work together;
- better co-ordinate the activities of partners;
- improve efficiency in use of resources;
- widen responsibility for taking forward the change agenda.

However, there are recognised to be a number of challenges and limitations to the potential offered through this operating framework, such as the time commitment involved in developing working practices and negotiating agreements within the partnership setting. Added to this are problems with the conflict element to this working approach, seen within Drumchapel SIP as coming from conflicts between the community representatives and council departments, and within the Big Step from tensions between the social work department and the SIP. The differences in the location of tension within these two SIPs relates to the membership of the case study SIPs, with adult community members making up a significant number within the SIP Board at Drumchapel SIP and the social work department being the partner whose work programme is closest to the issues being developed by the Big

Step. The result is that conflict emerges as a result of particular partners identifying that their expectations are not being responded to through the work of the case study SIPs.

The shared working approach of partnership settings also raises concerns about the lack of clarity on where accountability lies within this setting. The result is that there is no formal role for the Partnerships in holding particular partners to account for their actions when these run counter to the activities of the SIPs or when particular partners are not playing an active role in the work of the SIPs. This accountability is also a concern in relation to the role played by the Glasgow Alliance in managing Glasgow based SIPs. As SIP staff are employed by the Alliance to perform their role in supporting the work of the SIPs, local councillors highlight a conflict of interest between the staff's responsibilities to the SIP Board and the Alliance as their employer. This issue is raised in relation to potential disagreements between the management body and the Board, when staff would be in a difficult position in terms of the group to whom they were accountable.

Finally, there are more fundamental criticisms of the current focus on partnership working as a tool for government, where the setting up of centrally managed and externally funded partnership arrangements raise questions about the added-value of these partnerships given that the additional resources provided make it difficult to identify whether there are any gains or losses from partnership working. Further, by using partnership arrangements to improve the delivery of public services, central government sidestep tackling the limitations in current service provision, particularly by local authorities, while at the same time assuming that partnership working will improve the working practices of all public services agencies without providing any formal co-ordinating function for these bodies. Indeed, given the lack of any explicit acknowledgement or support for partnership working to involve any change to the working practices of individual partners, but with an implicit assumption that by working together change will occur, the fact that partnership working remains an 'add-on' function for many partners is perhaps unsurprising. Informal networking by SIP staff to ensure that links are made between different partnerships cannot serve to provide the necessary co-ordination between these different bodies, nor can it ensure that partners within individual partnerships are co-ordinating their activities with those of other partners.

Involving Young People in the SIPs

The third area of practice focused on in this study relates to the involvement of young people within the decision-making settings of the SIPs. There are significant differences between the case study SIPs in their approach to youth involvement. In Drumchapel SIP, the central aim

of involving young people in the SIP was to encourage them to link up with local service providers as a means of feeding in to their decision-making, while at the same time encouraging young people to take responsibility for improving the local area through their involvement in the decisions made by the SIP. The result is that young people are involved in the SIP through their representation within the SIP Board and the Youth Implementation Group; both very formal arenas for youth involvement that encourage young people to work alongside adult community and agency partners. In the Big Step, the approach to youth involvement is much more consultative in focus, with an emphasis on ensuring that the voice of young people is fed into decision-making, but where young people are not present in the majority of the decision-making settings beyond the SIP Board. In particular, young people are not present in the Working Groups where planning of new developments with partner agencies takes place. The steer towards this approach comes from the concern to ensure that young people are involved in the work of the SIP rather than aiming to link young people up with agency decision-making settings. Indeed, it is only within the SIP Board that young people come into contact with other SIP partners. To support this position, it is the SIP staff and particular partners that take on the role of advocating for young people both within the partnership setting and externally when engaging with other policy and practice developments.

The extent to which the approach adopted by the Big Step is more or less effective a route through which to involve young people than that adopted by Drumchapel SIP is difficult to say, but may be understood better by reflecting on the motivations for involving young people in the SIPs. Within Drumchapel SIP, the tensions evident between young people and adults involved in the Youth Implementation Group emerge from the fact that young people perceive their involvement in this setting to have no influence. A divergence between the motivations of young people and adults does provide some explanation for this. Young people see their voice as being useful to contribute to the work of the SIP both in terms of the self-development gained from this and in terms of the potential gains for other young people. While, adult partners shared this recognition of the value of the voice of young people, this was recognised as standing alongside the voice of adult stakeholders. As a result, young people required to learn how to negotiate within this setting; a skill that the older young people in the SIP Board identified as having learnt, but was perhaps not yet recognised by the young people in the YIG.

Young people in the Big Step were less concerned about their influencing role within the SIP as they identified their involvement to bring extensive gains in terms of personal development. The strategies employed to link young people into the work of the Big Step do suggest that

young people are not directly influencing the SIP's programme of work directly in terms of the development of new services within partner agencies. Rather their involvement is intended to ensure that they are consulted, while the negotiations and responsibility for achieving change lies with the SIP staff and adult agency partners. Indeed, the focus on promoting their involvement in a range of less formalised settings alongside the acknowledgement of the value of advocacy for this group further reinforces this position.

Wider Implications

By comparing the underlying agenda that has steered the current policy programme and the practices that have emerged within the case study SIPs, attention has been drawn to a range of differences and similarities between these two SIPs. The aim here is to reflect on the wider applicability of the findings from the case study SIPs in terms of the potential contribution made by area-based and thematic SIPs to promoting social inclusion. Given the case study nature of this study, it is not possible to assume that the findings from this study can be generalised from these particular cases to other SIPs or to other partnership arrangements. However, 'extrapolations' based on assumptions of similar social context being in place beyond the case study SIPs mean that theoretical speculations can be made about the wider applicability of the findings from the case study SIPs.

Approaches to Working

The two SIPs have taken distinct approaches to achieve their strategic aims and to involving young people within their programme of work. Much of this divergence is approach relates to the specific contributions made by area-based and thematic SIPs. This suggests that each type of SIP has something particular to contribute to the promotion of a programme to achieve social inclusion for young people. In relation to the findings from Drumchapel SIP, it is possible to speculate that area-based SIPs more generally have a role to play in bringing necessary additional resources towards deprived neighbourhoods to support local initiatives. In addition, there is also the potential for bottom-up community-led developments being promoted at the neighbourhood level as the result of the available funding from SIPs.

On the other hand, the lack of any historical precedence of thematic SIPs meant that the Big Step started from a different position to Drumchapel SIP. Firstly, this relates to the lack of any preconceived expectations by partners of what the SIP should be doing. Secondly, the lack of a strong community presence to steer the approach taken also accounts for the way that developments have emerged in this particular SIP. The result is that thematic SIPs are in a position to allow staff and other stakeholders more autonomy in the approach taken. This

type of SIP is therefore in a stronger position to develop new and innovative methods for achieving change for their target group than area-based SIPs. They may also be in a position to develop a higher level 'strategic' approach to their work, although taking up this opportunity will depend on the willingness of the particular thematic Partnership to challenge the policy framework and to work to more innovative methods of achieving change in the face of pressure to increase the availability of new services.

The area-based approach, therefore, offers the chance to target resources towards the most deprived communities. In contrast, thematic SIPs focusing on specific social groups at the local authority level are not bound by this same localised focus and have the opportunity to profile the needs of specific groups within the mainstream policy and practice agenda at the local authority level. This suggests a potential to identify gaps in provision and work with mainstream agencies to better meet the needs of excluded groups within their mainstream programme.

To allow both types of SIP to best fulfil their particular role, a three-year funding cycle would offer greater flexibility in how SIPs used their fund to meet their strategic aims. This could be further supported by making it easier to transfer funding from one period to the next in cases where there is an under-spend to allow this funding to be used to feed into initiatives with a long lead in period.

Promoting Sustainability

The data from the case study SIPs illustrated that no clear policy steer was provided on how sustainability of SIPs' work should be achieved. Indeed, the annual funding cycle with its short-term focus served to undermine this objective. Drumchapel SIP responded to this agenda by promoting youth and adult community involvement as a means of working towards the sustainability of developments over the longer term with local people being responsible for taking forward long-term change. The Big Step on the other hand had chosen to promote sustainability as part of the 'strategic influencing' programme they developed during their first year of working. Sustainability was therefore promoted by the Big Step through mainstream agency partners being encouraged to take on funding of initiatives piloted initially using SIP funding but managed inside partner agencies.

The distinctiveness of the approach adopted by the Big Step over that of Drumchapel SIP is that the focus of responsibility for maintaining change lies with those agencies who are charged with mainstream service delivery rather than with local people. However, given that changing the practices of mainstream agencies is both a slow and difficult process, it is likely

that more SIPs will choose, where they can, to promote sustainability through community involvement. By giving community members, including young people, an active role in the change agenda it is thought that they will be invested in maintaining change over time. Within thematic SIPs, where the community of interest is a transient group such as young people, this approach to sustainability is somewhat challenging; the response is likely to be either a neglect of this aim or a focus on encouraging agencies to maintain sustainability as has occurred within the Big Step. Regardless of the chosen approach, the very nature of this policy priority leads to difficulties with assessing the extent to which measures employed by SIPs have led to sustainable change. This is partly the case as a result of the time needed to allow change to be reviewed. However, it is also difficult to unpack the factors that have led to sustained change, which may be beyond actions taken by the SIPs, such as changes in the local economy that have created more jobs for local residents.

The implications for policy with regard to achieving sustainability are twofold. First, there is a need for policy-makers to provide guidance to SIPs on how they are expected to achieve sustainability through their work programme. Alternatively, there is a need to acknowledge the difficulties that are likely to be faced in achieving this aim within a partnership setting. Secondly, there is a need to minimise the factors that undermine the achievement of sustainability, notably the output focus driven by the annual funding cycle.

Partnership Working

The views of respondents in the case study SIPs on the benefits and challenges of partnership working were broadly similar across both SIPs as a result of shared perspectives on the operating framework offered within the partnership setting rather than factors specific to the working practices of each SIP. The views identified on this subject, therefore, are likely to have broad applicability across a range of partnership settings within and beyond thematic and area-based SIPs. In particular, there was agreement of the potential offered from working together, but this was framed by a range of challenges in practice that were limiting how SIPs could effectively achieve their full potential. The criticisms of partnership working as a 'sticking plaster' for central government to try to manage complex social change without making significant change to the practice of the main service delivery agencies also go beyond the contribution made by area-based and thematic SIPs to concentrate on the contribution made by partnership working across a range of settings.

In relation to this wider context on the development of new policy-led partnerships, a significant role for SIPs has emerged with regard to networking with other policy and practice

developments that fit with their working priorities. As with the practice of partnership working, this emerges as an activity that is likely to have much wider applicability amongst many SIPs as a way of allowing SIPs to link up with other developments of interest to their work. However, the fact that it is necessary for SIP staff to perform this role highlights the absence of any formal co-ordinating function to manage the wide range of new developments that have emerged in recent years.

The distinction that is likely to emerge between area-based and thematic SIPs in terms of this networking role comes from the different levels at which these two forms of SIP work. Given that many thematic SIPs work at local authority level, these Partnerships are much better placed to link into local authority wide policy and practice developments than area-based SIPs working at the neighbourhood level. Thematic SIPs are therefore likely to have more opportunity to influence developments at this level, although the extent this would occur in practice is unclear. Area-based SIPs on the other hand are more likely to network with neighbourhood based developments, which will not, in the main, have as high a policy profile.

There are several policy messages on the practicalities of partnership working. First, there is a need for policy recognition of the role performed by SIPs in networking with other partnership initiatives given that this is a task undertaken in place of a formal co-ordination function between different partnerships. Indeed, it is not clear how to best achieve formal co-ordination of the range of initiatives that exist at the local authority level without giving additional responsibilities to local authorities or other public sector agencies to take on this task or alternatively by creating another organisation (such as another layer of partnership) who would be charged with co-ordinating different partnerships. Secondly, there is a need for recognition of the time commitment and potential for conflict that emerges within partnership settings. As conflict emerges because of different expectations by individual partners within the partnership setting, there is therefore a need at the development stage for greater clarification of what is expected of partners and of what they should expect to gain from their involvement in partnership working. Finally, given that it is not clear what the added value and efficiency gains are to emerge from partnership working (if any), policy makers should consider more clearly what it is that they consider the gains to be from this form of working. While the study found that people accepted the need to work together as having potential gains, that these were not realised in practice means that more understanding is needed of what it is that partnership working is realistically expected to deliver. If, as is implied, the aim is to encourage agencies to work together more on special initiatives while continuing to individually hold responsibility for their own area of work, then there is a need for greater

acknowledgement of the time that is involved in undertaking this dual task. Alongside this, the use of centrally led partnerships to respond to gaps in service provision also suggests a need to review the functions of mainstream service delivery agencies and set realistic goals and targets for services that can be met on the funding that is provided.

Focusing on Young People

The focus on young people taken forward within the case study SIPs has highlighted a dual concern with promoting opportunities for involvement in labour market or initiatives leading to this aim in the longer term e.g. educational programmes, while also undertaking a more or less explicit programme to manage and reduce the problems associated with young people. Within the case study SIPs this has led to different approaches being adopted when focusing on young people. Both SIPs are explicitly working to promote the inclusion of young people into economic and social life as a central aim of their policy programme. Alongside this, at the neighbourhood level, Drumchapel SIP are promoting a focus on young people that highlights the incidence of anti-social behaviour and the need to address this. This brings with it an explicit programme to control the public presence of young people and to link them into their local neighbourhood with the aim of encouraging them to invest in their area. The absence of a neighbourhood focus to the work of the Big Step means this localised problem emphasis is not explicitly evident. In its place are concerns to provide better services to meet the needs of excluded young people in order to reduce the incidence of problems experienced by this group of young people.

The focus taken by Drumchapel SIP is likely to be one that is shared by many area-based SIPs where there is a focus on young people within their programme of work. Indeed, this is an approach that has emerged from other research on youth focused regeneration initiatives. This suggests that area-based SIPs are likely to have a greater tendency to problematise young people in the context of their relationships with other residents and with their activities within the neighbourhood. In contrast, thematic SIPs working at the local authority level provide a valuable additional perspective on young people that is not centrally concerned with conflict between young people and other residents at the neighbourhood level. As a result, thematic SIPs are in a stronger position to foreground the interests of young people as a central objective of their work. In so doing, they can balance the focus of work undertaken by area-based SIPs focusing on young people at the neighbourhood level.

In terms of the involvement of young people within the case study SIPs, different emphases have been put on how to involve people in the work of the SIPs. The reasons for this relate to

the view taken on what this involvement was intended to achieve. Thus, Drumchapel SIP perceived the involvement of young people to lead to young people making better links with service providers in the area, whereas the Big Step identified involvement to centre on ensuring young people are consulted on the actions taken by the SIP. The wider applicability of these patterns is likely to be less explicitly related to whether the SIP is area-based or thematic than to the view taken within the SIP on the motivations for youth involvement. Thus, while the policy imperative of ensuring that communities are involved in the work of SIPs will drive the presence of young people as one particular community of interest, the view taken on why young people should be involved will play a stronger role in the approach taken. For example, the view that young people should take an active role in decision-making will lead to more encouragement of involvement in formal decision-making settings where agency partners will be present, as has been the approach taken forward within Drumchapel SIP.

The key issue that arises from this discussion of the involvement of young people within the SIPs is whether direct involvement is the best route to give young people a voice in the work of the SIPs. Given the unequal power held within partnership settings, involving young people without acknowledging this inequality will likely lead to a position where young people are not able to use their voice effectively. However, to not give the opportunity to young people to feed their views into the development of services that have a direct impact on their lives is to close off the possibilities of their having something specific or additional to add to the decision-making process. The solution seems to be to find a way of effectively allowing young people to feed into the work of the SIPs without their voice being suppressed by the interests of other partners. This could involve allowing young people a forum for feeding in their views where they are formally linked to the Partnerships but where they have their own separate group that allows them to explore their own interests and represent these within the wider Partnership. By supporting young people to articulate their views on the work of the Partnership using dedicated youth workers who are responsible for representing the interests of young people rather than the Partnerships, young people could play a more effective role in influencing the SIPs without their voice being superseded by the interests of other partners.

Conclusion

The purpose of this final chapter has been to draw out the key findings of this study and to reflect explicitly on the differences and similarities between the case study SIPs. It has also suggested possible policy responses to some of the difficulties identified in current practice. It is important to stress, however, that the role performed by these Partnerships is not one isolated from the wider socio-economic environment within which young people live their

lives. Thus, SIPs have a role to play in responding to the exclusion experienced by young people, but are not the only policy tool that is in place. Indeed, the existence of wider social and economic inequalities relating to class, access to power and resources, including social and cultural capital, play a significant role in framing the opportunities open to young people. Future research could therefore reflect on the impact of urban policy initiatives on young people within this wider socio-economic context in order to better understand the factors that facilitate and limit the potential for young people to achieve inclusion; and indeed what it is that they themselves perceive to be required to facilitate their inclusion.

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The Policy Priorities set within the *Opportunity for All* annual report

Children and Young People:

1. Ensuring that children get a high quality education wherever they go to school and providing additional help to children in the crucial pre-school years.

- Increasing the proportion of 7 year old Sure Start children achieving Level 1 or above in key stage 1 English and Maths.

Health outcomes in Sure Start areas:

- A reduction in the proportion of low birth-weight babies in Sure Start areas.
 - A reduction in the rate of hospital admissions as a result of serious injury in Sure Start areas.
 - Increasing the proportion of 11 year olds achieving Level 4 in key stage 2 tests for literacy and numeracy.
 - Reducing the proportion of truancies and exclusions from school.
 - Increasing the proportion of 19-year-olds with at least Level 2 qualifications or equivalent.
2. Combating family poverty and social exclusion through policies to tackle worklessness, increasing financial support for families and improving the environment in which children grow up.
 - Reducing the proportion of children living in workless households*
 - Reducing the proportion of children in households with low incomes in a relative sense*
 - Reducing the proportion of children in households with low incomes in an absolute sense*
 - Reducing the proportion of children in households with persistently low incomes*
 - Reducing the proportion of children living in poor housing
 - Reducing the proportion of households with children experiencing fuel poverty
 - Reducing the rate at which children are admitted to hospital as a result of an unintentional injury resulting in a hospital stay of longer than 3 days
 3. Supporting vulnerable young people, especially in the difficult transition from childhood to adult life.
 - Reducing the proportion of 16-18 year olds not in education or training
 - Improving the educational attainment of children looked after by local authorities
 - Reducing the rate of conceptions for those aged under 18 and increasing the proportion of teenage parents who are in education, employment or training

Working Age:

4. Building a proactive welfare system to help people into work.
 - Increasing the proportion of working age people in employment*
 - Reducing the proportion of working-age people living in workless households*
 - Reduction in the number of working age people living in families claiming*
 - Increasing the employment rates of disadvantaged groups: those with disabilities, lone parents, ethnic minorities and the over-50s and a reduction in the difference between their employment rates and the overall rate*

5. Making work pay.
 - Reducing the proportion of working-age people with relatively low incomes*
 - Reducing the proportion of working age people with low incomes in an absolute sense*
 - Reducing the proportion of working age people with persistently low incomes*
6. Promoting lifelong learning to ensure people have the skills and education to respond to the modern labour market.
 - Increasing the proportion of working age people with a qualification
7. Supporting vulnerable groups and those at risk of discrimination and disadvantage
 - Reducing the number of people sleeping rough
 - Reducing cocaine and heroin use by young people
 - Reducing the adult smoking rate in all social classes
 - Reducing the death rate from suicide and undetermined injury

Older people:

8. Ensuring that tomorrow's pensioners can retire on a decent income
 - Increasing the proportion of working age people are contributing to a non-state pension*
 - Increasing the amount contributed to non-state pensions*
 - Increasing the proportion of working age people who have contributed to a non-state pension in at least three years out of the last four*
9. Tackling the problems of low income and social exclusion among today's pensioners
 - Reducing the proportion of older people on relatively low incomes*
 - Reducing the proportion of older people with low incomes in an absolute sense*
 - Reducing the proportion of older people with persistently low incomes*
 - Reducing the proportion of older people experiencing fuel poverty
10. Improving opportunities for older people to live secure, fulfilling and active lives
 - Reducing the proportion of older people whose lives are affected by fear of crime
 - Increasing healthy life expectancy at the age of 65
 - Reducing the proportion of households containing at least one person aged 75 or over living in poor housing
 - Increasing the proportion of older people being helped to live independently

Communities:

11. Bridging the gap between deprived communities and the rest
 - No specific targets were set in 1999, however, in 2000 two priorities of "ensuring that core public services address the special needs of deprived areas" and "targeting help to areas with the greatest problems" emerged.

* These represent targets with a UK wide focus, others are to be addressed within devolved administrations.

The Policy Priorities set within the *Social Justice* annual report

Children:

1. Defeating child poverty in Scotland within a generation
 - Reducing the proportion of children living in workless households*
 - Reducing the proportion of children living in low income households*
2. All children in Scotland can read, write and count at a level appropriate for their ability on leaving primary school
 - Increasing the proportion of children who attain appropriate levels in reading, writing and maths by the end of Primary 2 and Primary 7
 - All children will have access to quality care and early learning before entering school
- Improving the well-being of our young children through reducing the proportion of women smoking during pregnancy, the percentage of low birth-weight babies, dental decay among 5 year olds and by increasing the proportion of women breastfeeding
- Reducing the number of households, particularly families with children, living in temporary accommodation

Young People:

3. Every young person leaves school with the maximum level of skills and qualifications possible
 - Bringing the poorest performing 20% of pupils, in terms of Standard Grade achievement closer to the performance of all pupils
 - Reducing by a third days lost every year through exclusion from school and truancy
4. Every 19 year old is engaged in education, training or work
 - Halving the proportion of 16-19 year olds who are not in education, training or employment
 - All our young people leaving local authority care will have achieved at least English and Maths Standard Grades and have access to appropriate housing options
- Improving the health of young people through reductions in smoking by 12-15 year olds and the rate of suicides among young people
- No-one has to sleep rough

Family:

5. There will be full employment in Scotland
 - Reducing the proportion of unemployed working age people*
 - Reducing the proportion of working age people with low incomes*
 - Increasing the employment rates of groups, such as lone parents and ethnic minorities, that are relatively disadvantaged in the labour market*
6. Everyone will be undertaking some form of learning to widen their knowledge and skills
 - Increasing the proportion of students from under-represented, disadvantaged groups and areas in higher education compared with the overall student population in higher education

- Increasing the proportion of people with learning disabilities able to live at home or in a 'homely' environment
- Improving the health of families by reducing smoking, alcohol misuse, poor diet and mortality rates from coronary heart disease

Older People:

7. Make sure older people are financially secure
 - Increasing the number of working age people who are contributing to a non-state pension*
 - Reducing the proportion of older people with low incomes*
8. Increase the number of older people who enjoy active, independent and healthy lives
 - Increasing the proportion of older people who are able to live independently by doubling the proportion of older people receiving respite care at home and increasing home care opportunities
 - Increasing the number of older people taking exercise and reducing the rate of mortality from coronary heart disease and the prevalence of respiratory disease
 - Reducing fear of crime among older people

Communities:

9. Reduce inequalities between communities
 - Reducing the gap in unemployment rates between the worst areas and the average rate for Scotland*
 - Reducing the incidence of drugs misuse in general and of injections and sharing needles in particular
 - Reducing crime rates in disadvantaged areas
10. Increasing residents' satisfaction with their neighbourhoods and communities
 - Increasing the quality and variety of homes in our most disadvantaged communities
 - Increasing the number of people from all communities taking part in voluntary activities
 - Accelerating the number of households in disadvantaged areas with access to the internet

* These represent targets with a UK wide remit, the others are the responsibility of the Scottish Parliament.

List of all funded SIPs from 2000

Priority Partnership Areas	Regeneration Programmes
Great Northern, Aberdeen	Cambuslang, South Lanarkshire
Dundee	Dundee
Glasgow East End	Levern Valley, East Renfrewshire
Glasgow North	Edinburgh
Greater Easterhouse, Glasgow	Falkirk
Inverclyde	Fife
Motherwell North, North Lanarkshire	North Ayrshire
North Ayr, South Ayrshire	North Lanarkshire
North Edinburgh	Stirling
Craigmillar, Edinburgh	
Paisley	
West Dunbartonshire	
12 Priority Partnership Areas	9 Regeneration Partnerships
New Area Based Partnerships	Thematic Partnerships
Argyll & Bute	Dundee Young Carers
Blantyre/North Hamilton, Sth Lanarkshire	Dundee "Give Youth a Chance"
Alloa South & East, Clackmannanshire	Edinburgh Excluded Young Adults
East Ayrshire Coalfield	Fife Ethnic Minorities Capacity Building
Drumchapel, Glasgow	Glasgow Anti-Racist Alliance (GARA)
Gorbals, Glasgow	Glasgow Care Leavers
Greater Govan, Glasgow	Highland
Greater Pollok, Glasgow	Moray YouthStart
Springburn, Glasgow	Perth & Kinross Care Leavers
Milton, Glasgow	Routes Out of Prostitution. Glasgow
Smaller Areas, Glasgow	Scottish Borders
Girvan, South Ayrshire	South Coatbridge, North Lanarkshire
South Edinburgh	Tranent, East Lothian
	West Lothian
13 New Area Based SIPs	14 Thematic SIPs

Core baseline data and compulsory indicators of change for SIPs¹ *

Indicator	Description	Source(s)	Other surveys?	Frequency
Population and Households in each neighbourhood				
Total number of homes	Total number of occupied housing units by number of bedrooms (1, 2, 3, 4, 5+)	Registered Social Landlords (RSLs) ² , letting agencies and estate agents		Annual
Total households	Number of households (broad description of composition)	RSLs, letting agencies and estate agents		Annual
Total population	Total population within the area(s), inc. broad age and gender breakdowns	RSLs, letting agencies and estate agents, local authorities own estimates		BIF ³
Size of potential target group	Number of people who are disadvantaged in terms of the objectives of the SIP	Partnership research		BIF
Gross inward movement	People and households moving into the area	RSLs, letting agencies and estate agents		Annual
Gross outward movement	People and households moving out of the area	Further information may be available from private developers and household surveys		Annual
% change in population	Measure of recent change (over 5 years)	Ditto		BIF
Satisfaction with the area	% households saying very or fairly satisfied with local neighbourhood / SIP area	Household surveys		BIF
Housing				
Satisfaction with social housing management	E.g. the % of households saying that they are very or fairly satisfied with repairs to housing units, maintenance of open spaces and common areas, rent levels and rent collection arrangements	Household surveys and management surveys by local agencies		BIF
Type of homes	Estimates of the numbers of high-rise homes, tenements or other flats, terraced homes, semi-detached homes, and detached homes	Housing stock surveys, developer and household surveys.		BIF

* information extracted from Scottish Executive (1999b)

¹ Where possible or appropriate, data should be disaggregated by gender, ethnicity and disability.² Registered Social Landlords (RSLs) include Local Authority Housing Departments, Scottish Homes, Housing Associations and Housing Co-operatives.³ BIF = 'Baseline, Interim, Final.' Baseline data should be collected for 1st April 1999, or as near as possible to that date.

Indicator	Description	Source(s)	Other surveys?	Frequency
Tenure of homes	Estimates of the % of local authority homes, Housing Association or other RSL homes, Scottish Homes properties, privately rented homes, and owner occupied homes.	Housing stock surveys, developer and household surveys, local authorities own estimates.		BIF
Housing change	Total numbers of housing units demolished, improved, modernised, converted, taken out of housing use, and newly built within the SIP area.	RSLs, development projects		Annual
Void rates in social housing	Total numbers of unutilised social housing stock as a % of total stock and total numbers of unutilised housing stock as a percentage of management stock.	RSLs, development projects		Annual
Desire to move outwith the SIP area	% of households wishing to move outside the SIP area(s)	Household surveys (useful to distinguish within City/District and elsewhere)		BIF
Crime				
Movement in recorded crime	Crimes against persons (e.g. robbery, violent abuse, racial and inter-neighbourhood harassment); Crimes against property (e.g. housebreaking, graffiti); Crime relating to drugs	Police beat statistics	SCS	Annual
Fear of crime	Fear of going out at night (by age, gender)	Household surveys	SCS	BIF
Community involvement & development				
Social / leisure participation	% adults attending social, and leisure event/facility in the local community (e.g. faith group, social or leisure centre, sports club)	Household surveys		BIF
Social / leisure organisation	% of adults acting as volunteers or organiser in above events/facilities	Household surveys	SHS	BIF
Community / representative group participation	% of households with one or more member regularly attending community/representative groups (e.g. tenants association)	Household surveys	SHS	BIF
Community / rep. group organisation	% of households with one or more member acting as volunteers or organiser in above groups	Household surveys	SHS	BIF
Voluntary (not for profit) Sector				
Vol. groups involved in SIP	% of SIP board and sub-groups who are voluntary sector representatives	Research by Partnership		Annual
Private (business) sector				
Involvement of private sector	% of SIP board and sub-groups who are private sector representatives	Ditto		Annual

Indicator	Description	Source(s)	Other surveys?	Frequency
Employment and training				
Employment rate of adults	% of working age adults by gender, (male 16-64, female 16-59) in employment (information on full-time/part-time and permanent/ temporary)	Household surveys	LFS	BIF
Long term claimant unemployment	Total numbers and % of working age adults who have been in receipt of JSA or unemployment benefits for over 6 months (by gender)	Employment Service for claimants Household survey for working age adults	LFS	BIF
Qualifications	% of adults of working age with recognised qualifications (information on highest level of education: degree, HND, Higher/SVQ III, Standard SVQ II etc.)	Ditto	SHS/LFS	BIF
Claimant unemployment	Total numbers and % of adults of working age claiming JSA / unemployment benefits	Employment Service for claimants Household survey for working age adults	ONS/ES	Annual
Workless households	% of households where head of household is of working age which have no one in work	Household surveys	LFS	Annual
Routes into employment	Total numbers of 16-17 year olds not in employment or education registered with Careers Service	Local Careers Service		Annual
Education				
% school leavers without Standard Grade Maths and without Standard Grade English at levels 1-6	Percentages by schools in area and those outwith the SIP area attended by residents	Local Education Authority data by school	SEED	BIF
% of S4 achieving 5+ standard grades at 1-4	Information will need to be developed with the schools to identify separately the performance of SIP area residents / target groups	(Where resident data is not available from the LEA, it may be necessary to approach the school(s) themselves)	SEED	BIF
Achievement of 3Rs	Percentage of P2 pupils resident in SIP area meeting or exceeding attainment level A under national 5-14 programme in reading, writing and mathematics	Local Education Authority data by school	SEED	BIF
Attendance rates (including distinction between authorised and unauthorised absences)	(Information will need to be developed with the schools to identify separately the performance of residents / client groups)	Ditto	SEED	BIF
School intakes	% of pupils in schools within the SIP area who live outside of SIP area	LEA Data	SEED	Annual
	% of school age children living in the SIP area going to school outside the SIP area	Household surveys, possibly LEA data		BIF

Indicator	Description	Source(s)	Other surveys	Frequency
Health				
Long term limiting illness	% local residents saying that they have a long-term illness, health problem or disability which limits daily activities or the work they can do (including problems due to old age)	Household surveys	SHS/ONS	BIF
Access to health services	% population registered with a GP	Household surveys, GPs' records combined with overall population figures	SHS	BIF
Attendance at SIP funded facilities and new / extra projects		Project monitoring data		Annual
Poverty				
Benefits receipt	Total numbers and % of households in which at least one person is in receipt of Income Support or Housing Benefit	Partnership research, Benefits Agency information		BIF
Disconnection and self-disconnection from utilities	% of households who have either been disconnected, or have self-disconnected from gas or electricity	Household surveys/utility companies ⁴		BIF
Access to financial services	% of those of working age and retirement age who feel excluded from financial services (current / savings account, insurance, borrowing).	Household surveys		BIF
Access to information				
Access to the Internet	% of households with access to the Internet at home	Household surveys	SHS	BIF
	% of households where at least one adult has access to the Internet elsewhere.	Household surveys		BIF
Other activity				
SIPs are required to submit as part of their annual reporting a brief description and assessment of other social and economic regeneration activity and other events and factors in their area or affecting their target group. This should highlight overlaps, interactions and gaps.				

⁴ There may be particular difficulties obtaining data from private companies for reasons of commercial confidentiality.

Interview Schedule

Introduction: explain what interview is for and what interested in finding out more about. Also outline anonymity of information provided.

**Wording and order of questions varied depending on way that interview progressed*

***probes and points of context are outlined in italics below the question.*

General Questions

General information about job and responsibilities?

Introductory question to get things going and to help find out what people do/areas of expertise (if relevant)

What form of involvement with SIP/social inclusion agenda?

How came to be involved, who invited, how long involved.

Views on Social Inclusion Partnerships

Has move from PPAs to SIPs changed way regeneration taking place in Scotland?

Is it only a change of name or have other changes also taken place?

What is your view on whether SIPs should be service providers or not?

Should SIPs be encouraging others to provide more/better services or should they be offering services themselves?

Do SIPs have a strategic role to play?

Does this role work alongside a service role or is this their only role?

What would you identify as the main advantages to partnership working through SIPs?

Does partnership working allow involvement of people that would not normally get into this level of decision-making?

Are there any limitations to the partnership approach being adopted?

Are there things that could be done that are not? Are there people being left out who should be involved?

Are SIPs undertaking any joined-up working with other SIPs or agencies?

Do you think that this should be more of a priority of SIPs than it is at present? What barriers are still in place to limit joined-up working?

What do you see this SIP are being here to do?

What role do you see this SIP as undertaking? How is it doing this?

What would you like this SIP to achieve in its lifetime?

f.e. Would you consider the achievement of the SIP targets to be the most important outcome?

Young People and Social Inclusion Partnerships

Are the SIP undertaking measures to involve young people in its work?

If so, what and how?

Is involving young people in the work of the partnership a priority of the SIP?

If not, why?

What is the objective of involving young people in the work of the partnership?

What would you consider the benefits of this form of involvement?

Views on Area and Thematic SIPs

Do you think that there are differences between area and thematic SIPs?

If so, how and what? Are they trying to do different things?

Are there distinct advantages to either approach?

Do either of these approaches offer things that the other does not?

What strengths and weaknesses are there in having both thematic and area initiatives in place within the same region?

Does it spread limited resources too thinly? Does it avoid traditional areas of need getting the attention they need? Does it allow a double safety net of provision?

Is the thematic focus different from that of area based partnerships?

Is neighbourhood and city targeting the same, just at different levels or is there a different emphasis within thematic targeting?

[if not clear from previous answers] Do you think that area and thematic SIPs are both concerned with achieving the same goals?

What goals do they both share? Are they both concerned about strategy development or is one more concerned with service delivery?

Views on social inclusion and social justice

Do you keep up to date with the social inclusion policy agenda?

e.g. as part of your job, out of interest or through involvement in partnership work?

Do you think it is significant that we now talk about social inclusion and social justice rather than poverty, disadvantage or other terms?

Is this meant to represent something new occurring? Where does poverty fit into these discussions?

What does the term social inclusion mean to you?

How would you understand the notion of social inclusion?

Do you think that social justice is something different?

Does it represent a change in focus, or just a change in name?

Ask if have any other issues to discuss before interview ends.

****End of Interview****

Thank for help and giving time to be interviewed.

Inform that transcript will be given for comments and reference. Also point out that if quoted, and use any identifying reference, information will be checked.

Group Interview Schedule for Young People

Start with general chat: introductions and what will happen in interview

1. How long have you been in contact with the partnership?
2. In what way do you get involved with the partnership?
e.g. on Partnership Board, go to meetings, go to social events etc?
3. How did you come to be involved?
e.g. who got you involved?
4. Do you get involved in other things like this?
e.g. other management committees or youth groups?
5. What happens at the partnership meetings or events that you go to?
e.g. who attends, what takes place, what role do you play?
6. What do you think that the SIP is here to do?
e.g. do you think it should be bring more services in or getting people to talk to each other more?
7. How do you get involved with that work?
e.g. attend board meetings to approve applications, discuss strategies etc or give feedback on what young people need or want?
8. Would you like to be involved differently from now?
e.g. would you like to be more (or less) involved in decisions, do you want it to be less (or more) formal, should there be more social activities or do you want more responsibility/ involvement in the SIP?
9. What would you see changed through there being a SIP here?
e.g. better services, more partnership work, more for you to do etc.?
10. What do you like about the SIP?
11. What do you not like about the SIP?
12. What would you like to be different by the time the SIP finishes its funding?
e.g. more services, better services, things to be easier for other young people or something else?
13. What do you think social inclusion means?
Do you think it is important that we are talking about social inclusion?

End of interview

*Thank for time, offer to send copy of notes taken to allow comments.
Remind that quotes to remain anonymous.*

Issues of Interest in Fieldwork Observations:

Main themes are:

- Who is in attendance at SIP meetings (members of which organisations)?
- Who leads the group and what issues are discussed?
- How issues of concern to the group are dealt with e.g.
 - discussion;
 - leadership decision-making;
 - consultation and feedback from others.
- How are new issues introduced to the agenda?
- How are conflicts dealt with within this setting?
- How are developing practices monitored within this setting?
- How are discussions around the theme of social justice and social inclusion dealt with within meetings?
- Is the agenda led by economic factors of area regeneration or social justice of excluded groups?
- How are young people involved in meetings?
- Do the groups and areas being addressed by SIP funding get the chance to participate in any meaningful way in the discussions that take place in meetings?

Themes for Analysis of Fieldwork Data

Social inclusion policy:

- Social inclusion
- Social justice
- Poverty
- New Labour/Scottish politics
- Glasgow Alliance
- Scottish Executive
- Relations between local authority and Glasgow Alliance

Comparing SIPs:

- Partnership working
- Challenges and problems in partnership working
- Views on role performed by area based SIP
- Views on role performed by thematic SIP
- What was new with SIPs
- Purpose of SIPs
- Strategic role of SIPs
- Service role of SIPs
- Community involvement
- Conflicts in SIPs

Focusing on young people:

Adult views:

- Perceptions of what young people need
- How talk about young people
- Priorities for inclusion of young people
- Problems surrounding young people
- Why focus on young people
- How involving young people

Young People's views:

- Views of the SIPs
- Views of SIP meetings
- Relations with adults in SIPs
- What think SIP are for
- What want from involvement in SIP
- What provided to facilitate involvement
- Miscellaneous/other e.g. relevant personal info on young people/their aspirations

Core SIP Allocations Between 1998 & 2001

SIP	1998-99	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02
Aberdeen Great Northern	1,040,000	809,000	844,000	850,000
Argyle & Bute		206,000	280,000	369,216
Edinburgh North	3,111,000	2,877,000	2,589,575	2,387,000
Edinburgh South		740,000	990,938	1,129,000
Edinburgh Strategic Prog.	2,277,000	1,178,000	550,450	529,250
Edinburgh Youth SIP		205,000	567,000	574,000
Edinburgh Craigmillar	2,201,000	1,723,000	1,755,335	1,765,000
Alloa Sth & East		750,000	1,017,000	1,038,000
Dundee Young Carers		56,000	105,000	104,000
Dundee SIP1	2,835,000	2,512,000	2,119,000	2,090,000
Dundee SIP2	1,004,000	792,000	453,000	417,850
Dundee Xplore		300,000	500,000	592,250
East Ayr Coalfields		741,000	1,042,250	1,376,000
Tranent, East Lothian		94,000	128,000	156,000
Levern Valley	661,000	433,000	446,000	464,443
Falkirk	550,000	550,000	578,750	585,600
Fife	1,178,000	751,000	630,000	640,500
Fife Frae		94,000	164,750	131,000
Glasgow Smaller Area			1,128,000	1,818,125
Glasgow Anti Racist		593,325	780,500	783,250
Glasgow Big Step		378,000	722,328	590,443
Glasgow Drumchapel		1,875,000	2,755,280	2,756,466
Glasgow East End	2,800,000	2,800,000	2,868,000	2,907,000
Glasgow Gorbals		562,500	764,000	779,000
Glasgow Gtr Easterhouse	3,400,000	3,400,000	3,491,000	3,539,000
Glasgow Gtr Govan		375,000	509,000	896,981
Glasgow Gtr Pollock		1,725,000	2,343,000	3,008,530
Glasgow Milton		200,074	764,000	942,125
Glasgow North	2,500,000	3,300,000	2,987,000	3,047,000
Glasgow Routes Out		187,500	353,000	325,552
Glasgow Springburn		200,316	764,000	825,000
Highland Well Being		603,000	886,825	890,500
Inverclyde	3,302,225	2,998,000	2,421,000	2,421,000
Moray Youthstart		424,000	576,000	447,000
North Ayrshire	789,000	776,000	730,000	742,675
Motherwell North	1,530,000	1,530,000	1,629,500	1,640,750
North Lanarkshire	850,000	850,000	886,250	904,325
South Coatbridge		250,000	716,000	793,000
Perth & Kinross		128,000	194,761	228,055
Renfrew Paisley	3,189,000	2,981,000	2,947,000	2,692,154
Scottish Borders		215,000	235,000	252,000
Girvan		315,000	428,000	364,600
North Ayr	1,709,000	1,508,000	1,545,938	1,557,000
Blantyre/North Hamilton		500,000	1,019,000	2,116,710
Cambuslang	600,000	600,000	625,000	631,350
Stirling	799,000	583,000	526,000	530,700
West Dunbartonshire	2,587,000	2,193,000	2,087,000	2,076,000
West Lothian		188,000	256,000	209,000
Total	38,912,225	47,049,715	52,699,430	55,914,400

Strategic Aims of Drumchapel SIP:

Empowering the Community: *to create an environment where local people are provided with support and opportunities to play a full part in developing and influencing the delivery of services in the area*

- Developing innovative mechanisms to encourage members of the community who are excluded from existing community structures to influence the activities of the partnership.
- Establishing and supporting a community/voluntary representative forum to provide a formal link between the partnership and community organisation.

Enhancing Educational Opportunities: *to provide a quality of lifelong educational opportunities which will equip people with the skills to access opportunities available*

- Providing a co-ordinated strategy of support for children during their pre-school years.
- Identifying, assessing and providing additional support to meet the needs of children with social and educational difficulties as they enter primary and secondary school.
- Improving punctuality, attendance and attainment for primary and secondary school pupils.
- Increasing the number of school leavers who go into further education, higher education, training or employment and providing the opportunity for lifelong learning for adult returners.
- Providing affordable and flexible childcare to allow Drumchapel parents to train for work, to take up employment opportunities or return to education.

Alleviating Poverty: *to reduce the level of poverty by enhancing the local economy and providing residents with the skills to obtain and retain employment opportunities; maximising access to opportunities provided through advice and information, while offering support systems for those not able to be economically active*

- Providing personal development careers guidance, pre-vocation and vocational training opportunities for excluded Drumchapel residents to improve their employment prospects.
- Creating and developing an enterprise culture in Drumchapel through assisting local people to become self-employed, developing a sustainable business base, creating employment opportunities via supporting local company growth, maximising inward investment and utilising local commercial and industrial property.
- Maximising the economic impact of the third sector in Drumchapel by developing social economy organisations to offer volunteering and employment opportunities for local people.

- Providing temporary employment opportunities in Intermediate Labour Market projects in Drumchapel for long term unemployed and other excluded individuals as a stepping stone to quality jobs.
- Improving the employability of young people in Drumchapel through remedial activity focusing on unemployed 16-17 year olds and activity preventing young people becoming disengaged and long term unemployed in the future.
- Alleviating the effects of poverty and facilitating access to new opportunities and services for those who have been socially excluded.

Improving Health & Well-Being: *to create the conditions for good health to develop and be maintained and thus improving health, well-being and quality of life for residents.*

- Improving child, adolescent and family health.
- Improving the mental health and well-being of Drumchapel residents.
- Improving levels of physical activity.
- Reducing smoking prevalence and dependence on alcohol and illegal drugs.

Engaging with Young People: *to encourage young people to engage in the process of community participation to reduce social exclusion by addressing issues that affect their lives*

- Developing a co-ordinated approach towards young people making a greater contribution to decision-making processes.
- Developing and increasing the range of social activities available to young people, making these activities as attractive and accessible as possible to maximise participation.
- Tackling anti-social behaviour and the incidence of vandalism.

Strategic Aims of the Big Step:

Health & Well-being:

General Health

- Ensuring that appropriate and sensitive health needs assessments and health care plans are made available to each young person focusing on their physical, mental and emotional needs.
- Promoting increased participation of young people in their own health choices.
- Further developing relevant and appropriate social support networks to prevent social isolation.

Mental Health

- Improving mental health services to children and young people who have been looked after by the local authority and ensuring that these services are meeting identified need.

Drugs

- Ensuring young people have access to relevant and appropriate drug education, information, advice and support.

Sexual Health

- Ensuring that young people have access to relevant and appropriate sexual health education, information and advice, including contraceptive services.

Criminalisation

- Reducing the numbers of young people in the target group exhibiting offending behaviour and reducing the numbers who re-offend.

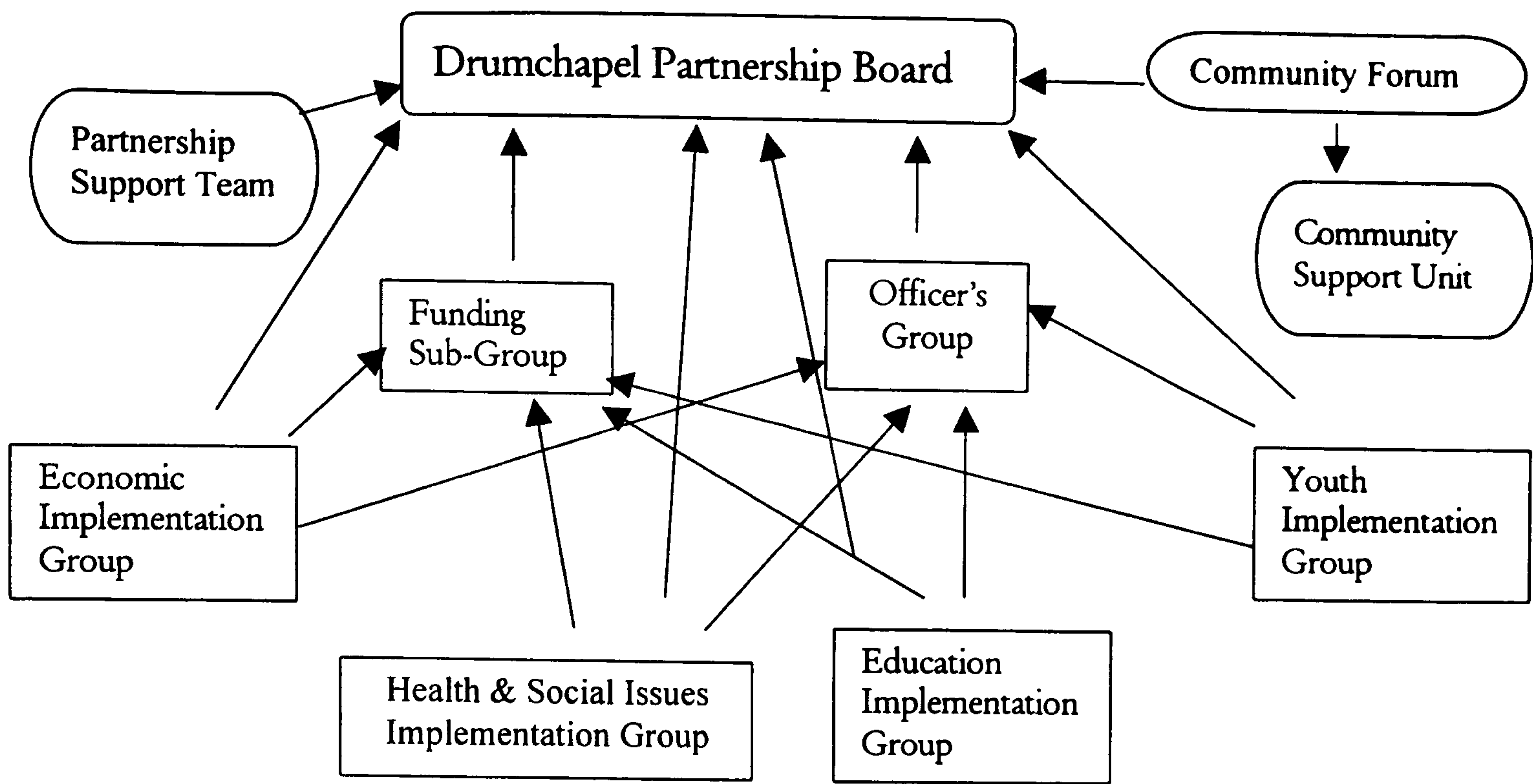
Education, Training & Employment

- Ensuring that all young people in the target group receive and take up their entitlement to basic education.
- Ensuring a co-ordinated approach to the development of employment and advice services and improve joint working.
- Ensuring access to mainstream employment related support from aged 15 onwards and therefore to access employment related opportunities from aged 16 onwards.
- Providing specialised employment-related support in cases where mainstream provision is absent or not appropriate or where the young people are experiencing difficulties in accessing and sustaining employment-related opportunities.
- Raising the profile of the employment-related needs of care leavers to ensure support is responsive to their needs.

Housing & Accommodation

- ensuring that young people receive support and accommodation to meet their needs
- ensuring that young people have the skills to live independently
- preventing young people who have been looked after by the local authority from having to present as homeless.

Drumchapel SIP's Partnership Structures:



This represents a complex set of structures. Thus, brief descriptive information on the key aspects of this structure are set out below for clarification/information.

Membership & Purpose of the SIP Groups

- **The SIP Board** is the highest level of the Partnership and has final decision-making responsibility for all spending and strategic decisions made by the partners within the other SIP Groups. The membership of the SIP Board consists of the representatives as set out at the time of setting the SIP strategy document. The only change from then was that the Business Support Group member left and was later replaced by a representative from Scottish Enterprise (previously Glasgow Development Agency).
- **Implementation Groups (IG)** are Chaired as follows: Education IG by an officer from the local high school; Economic IG by an officer from the Local Economic Development (LED) company; Health IG by an officer from Greater Glasgow Health Board; and the Youth IG by a local young person. All Chairs of IG's were also members of the main SIP Board. Membership of the IG's linked to the thematic focus of the Group. For example, the Education IG representatives were from relevant local authority Departments e.g. Education, Community Education and Social work as well as from locally based education projects. Similarly, the Youth IG was attended by young people, local authority

representatives (Education, Community Education and Social Work Department), as well as those from local community and voluntary sector groups.

The purpose of the IG's was to review applications for funding relevant to the thematic focus of the Group and to make recommendations on which to fund. In addition, the development of the SIP's wider work programme under each thematic heading was also to be discussed within the IG's.

- **The Officer's Group** was made up of one nominated member from each of the IG's (someone other than the IG Chair) and members of the main Board. This group's role was to progress and review the strategic aims of the SIP over time and reflect on how the work of the IG was taking forward the wider plans of the SIP. Recommendations from this Group were reported to the Board for approval. Thus, as the diagram shows this group sits between the IG's and the SIP Board and, thus, provides a link between the IG's and the Board.
- **The Funding Sub-Group** consisted of various members of the Partnership Board. This group was charged with co-ordinating the funding aspects of the SIP's work and making recommendations to the Board about the use of the partnership's funds. This group was Chaired by the Chair of the SIP Board. All applications for funding went first to the IG's then were discussed, prioritised and a report was made on which should get funding. This report went to the SIP Board for final approval. As with the Officer's Group this Sub-Group played a role in linking the IG's with the SIP Board.
- **The Community Forum** was a partnership of community representatives (including young people and the local voluntary sector network) (15 members in total). This group was the main body feeding community input to the SIP. All members of the Community Forum were also members of the SIP Partnership Board.
- **The Community Support Unit** consisted of the Community Forum's support staff who performed a similar role to that performed by the SIP support staff for the SIP Board, through providing support to the community members of the SIP and developing community capacity in the wider local community.
- **The SIP Support Staff** consisted of 5 people: partnership manager; youth inclusion officer, development officer and two clerical/administrative staff. Their role was to support the work of the SIP.

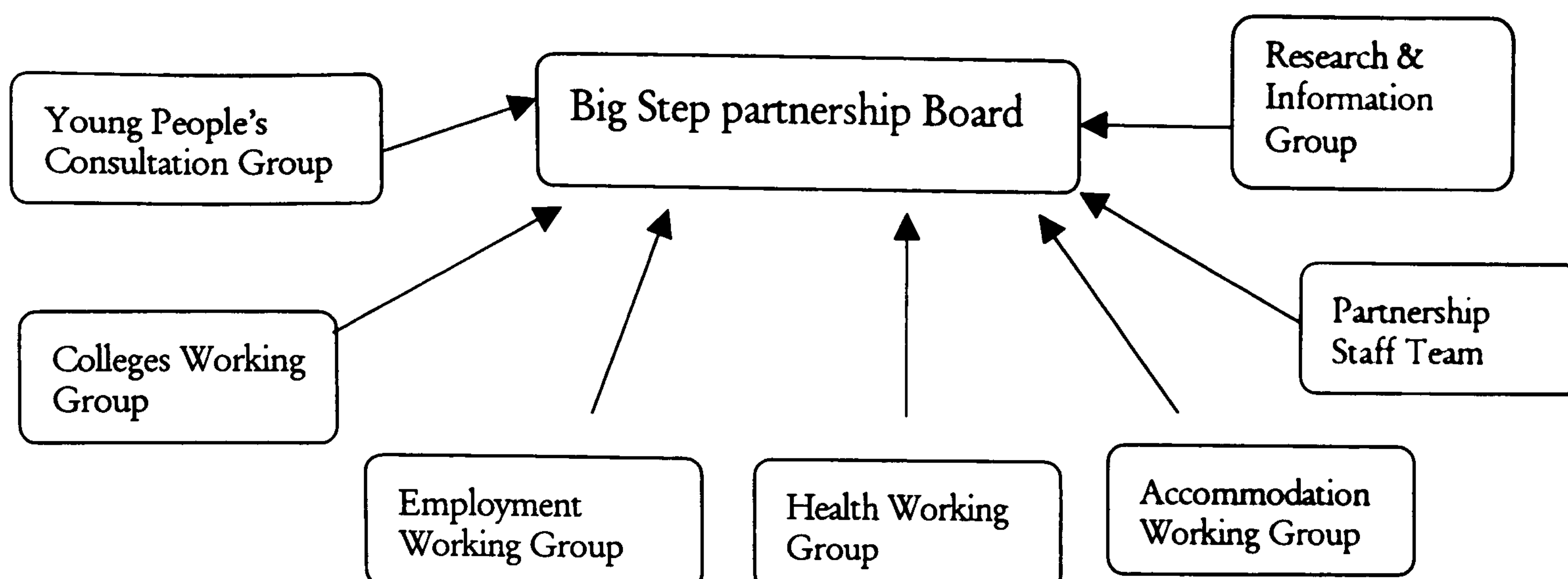
Representation within the SIP Groups

As the diagram above shows, all of these forums feed into the SIP Board, who are the body with final decision-making authority over all developments undertaken by the SIP. All members of the Board were elected locally. The Chair of the SIP Board is a local councillor;

the Vice-Chair is a local community representative. The other Board members are also representatives who either live in or work in the local area. For example, the Strathclyde Police representative is a senior officer with responsibility for the Maryhill sub-division, which includes Drumchapel. The Education Department representative is the Head Teacher at Drumchapel High School. The Scottish Homes representative is the operations manager for North & North West Glasgow. Similarly, those involved in the IG's represent agencies and individuals working or living in the local area. For example, officers from Community Education and Social Work Department are from area offices in the West of Glasgow, and the local community and voluntary sector representatives are either local residents or work on initiatives focusing on the local area. Due to this localised focus, many of the officers taking part in the partnership, at both Board and Implementation group level, were operational rather than management level staff.

In terms of **community involvement**, by the end of the first year there was community in all of the IG's, on the Funding Sub-Group and on the Housing Sub-Committee, as well as on the SIP Board. The five community places on the SIP Board was formally set facilitating representation from 3 local community representatives, one young person and one member of the local voluntary sector. Each of these five members also has a 'second' who stands in for the Board member if they are not able to attend SIP meetings. All of these places were filled at the time of this study.

The Big Step's Partnership Structures:



Each of these Groups requires further information to explain their membership and role:

- **The SIP Board** had overarching responsibility for decision-making in terms of spending the SIP budget and taking forward the SIP's planned activities. The membership of the SIP consisted of the original membership as set out at the time of applying for funding in addition to four other agency partners joining the Board: Glasgow City Council (Housing Department), Benefits Agency, Employment Service and 'Whitbread in the Community'¹.
- **The Working Groups** were taking forward plans for the SIP under each of the three thematic headings identified in the strategy document. The membership of each of these groups related to the specific area of work being developed. For example, the Accommodation Working Group had representation from Quarriers, Glasgow Council for Single Homeless and both Addiction Services and Leaving Care Services within the Social Work Department. The Colleges Working Group was a temporary group set up during the first year and disbanded after approximately a year that was focusing on taking forward a specific work programme to link young people into further education opportunities at Glasgow based colleges.
- **The Research & Information Group** was a group focusing on building a baseline picture of the position on young people in care in Glasgow collating data held within the statutory agencies and tracking the progress of young people over time.

¹ This is the community arm of this private sector leisure and hotel chain. They fund and provide staff time on a range of community initiatives.

- **The Young Person's Consultation Group** was a youth group led by the SIP's youth worker. It provided a focus for young people's involvement in the SIP. This Group both allowed a forum for young people to feed their views into the SIP in an informal/social setting and was used to get young people involved in a range of other elements of the SIP's work e.g. created the partnership's name and logo, recruiting staff, and participating in the SIP Board.
- **The Partnership Staff Team** grew over the first year from the recruitment of a partnership manager to also add: a youth worker; social support officer²; health development officer; accommodation officer; two research/policy staff; and a part-time administrator³. During the second year the staff was further expanded through the employment of a mental health development officer and an employment development officer. The large staff team was initially intended to deliver a range of new services, but later changed to support a range of policy and practice developments occurring elsewhere.

Representation within the Groups

Perhaps as a result of its city-wide focus, the Big Step Board members tended to be senior management level staff within organisations, for example, the Head of Children & Family Services from the Social Work Department and an Assistant Head of Children's Services at Barnardo's. Other Board members were, however, selected for their specialism or interest in the group rather than seniority e.g. the Young Person's Worker for Glasgow from Who Cares? Scotland and a member of the youth housing strategy team from GCC Housing Department. In addition, the Board consisted of a large number of agency partners; by the end of the first year a total of 11 'agency' members, including a local councillor and a representative from the private sector, while the involvement of young people remained at two/three representatives for at least the first year.

Within the Working Groups, representation tended to be from operational level staff. The presence of the Social Work Department in all of the different Groups did mean that there was a clear demarcation of responsibility between operational level staff at the Working Group level and management involvement at the SIP Board. There were also no young people present in any of the Working Groups.

² Staff member responsible for taking forward the Princes Trust Leaving Care Initiative Mentoring Project which focused on improving social outcomes for care leavers through a mentoring programme.

³ In year two a further two staff were recruited (a mental health development officer and an employment development officer) taking the team up to ten people.

SIPs’ Request for Funding: first year*

Drumchapel SIP: funding request 1999-2000

Empowering the community:	£180,000
Enhancing Educational Opportunities	£367,000
Alleviating Poverty	£880,000
Improving Health and Well-being	£341,000
Engaging with Young People	£572,000
Partnership Support (staff)	£160,000
Total	£2,500,000

The Big Step: funding request 1999-2000

Partnership Manager	£38,000
Team Leader & Deputy	£67,000
Project Workers x 6	£157,000
Resource Worker & 2 Assistant Project Workers	£59,000
Sessional Workers	£117,500
Accommodation	£30,000
Monitoring & Evaluation	£20,000
Total	£489,500

* Data extracted from SIP strategy documents (Drumchapel SIP 1999; Big Step 1999)

Drumchapel SIP: annual spending by theme 1999-2001¹

	1999/2000	% fund	2000/01	% fund	2001/02	% fund
	(38 initiatives)		(68 initiatives)		(74 initiatives)	
Education	221,684	14%	559,668	21%	402,388	16%
Poverty/labour market	500,904	31%	563,279	22%	832,878	31%
Health & well-being ²	398,206	24%	634,175	25%	676,723	26%
Community involvement ³	193,875	12%	276,774	11%	273,418	10%
Engaging young people ³	56,684	3%	233,171	8%	113,650	4%
GCC admin	18,750	1%	47,747	2%	62,453	2%
Partnership support	163,000	10%	174,000	7%	205,860	8%
Other costs ⁴	79,928	5%	99,000	4%	86,700	3%
Total	1,633,031	100%	2,587,814	100%	2,654,070	100%

¹ The data presented in this table is derived from three years of annual reports and involves analysis of the data on spending outlined in those reports.

² Health and Well Being covers a wide range of activities e.g. health, community safety, environmental initiatives and sports/arts

³ The spend on community involvement and engaging young people relates only to these specific activities. Other activities e.g. to promote youth or wider community in employment, education or health are dealt with under the relevant heading.

⁴ 'Other costs' refer to SIP costs not related to staffing e.g. technology.

The Big Step: annual spending by theme 1999-2001¹

The Big Step	1999/2000	% fund	2000/01	% fund	2001/02 ²	% fund
[add number of initiatives ³]	no details		9 initiatives		9 initiatives	
Programme activity:	2,688	3%	129,953	23	292,781	44%
Education/employment	no details		no details		121,959	18%
Accommodation	no details		no details		116,502	17%
Health	no details		no details		28,655	5%
Empowering communities ⁴	-		-		25,665	4%
GCC admin	7,088	8%	12,825	2	35,981	5%
Partnership Support	56,140	64%	223,951	39	277,383	41%
Other costs	21,386	25%	207,709	36	65,152	10%
Total	87,302	100%	574,438	100	671,279	100%

¹ The data presented in this table is derived from three years of annual reports and involves analysis of the data on spending outlined in those reports.

² 2001/02 was the first year that financial information in the annual reports outlines the themes under which spending was allocated. In previous years only the total programme spend is listed.

³ The number of initiatives refers to the total number that received SIP funding rather than all those the SIP was involved with, but that did not get a share of the SIP budget (representing approximately another four initiatives per year).

⁴ "Empowering Communities" was a policy initiative introduced in 2001 to encourage community involvement in local decision-making settings.